

DEFENCE AGAINST DISASTER

By Accurately Determining The Position Of The

Companions After The Death Of The Prophet,

May Allah Bless Him And Grant Him Peace

AL-`AWASIM MIN AL-QAWASIM

by

QADI ABU BAKR IBN AL-`ARABI

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The Disaster of Dhuhr

Then Allah took His Prophet to Himself, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and perfected the deen for him and us and completed His blessings on him as He, may He be exalted! said, "Today I have perfected your deen for you and I have completed my blessing on you and I am pleased with Islam as a deen for you (5:3)". Nothing in this world is perfected without imperfection coming to it in that perfection is meant for the face of Allah alone. That is right action and the next world. It is the perfect abode of Allah. Anas said, "We had not shaken the earth of the grave of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, from our hands before we doubted our hearts."

2. "Our hearts" is related in the hadith from numerous directions. Ibn Kathir indicated it in 'The Beginning and the End', (pp. 273-274). One of them is by Imam Ahmad from Anas, "On the Day on which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, came to Madina, all of it was illuminated. On the day he died, all of it was darkened." He said, "We had not shaken the earth of the grave of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, from our hands before we began to doubt our hearts." This is related by at-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah. At-Tirmidhi said, "This is a sahih gharib hadith." Ibn Kathir said, "Its isnad is sound according to the preconditions of the Sahih volumes."

The situation became unsettled. Then Allah corrected Islam by the oath of homage to Abu Bakr. The death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was the disaster of dhuhr and the great calamity. As for `Ali, he kept himself out of sight in his home with Fatima.

3. Because Fatima was angry with Abu Bakr when he insisted on acting by the words of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa." The details of that will come. Fatima lived for six months after the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, withdrawn in her house. `Ali was with her. He did not cease to pray the prayers behind the Siddiq. He went out with him when Abu Bakr went out and unsheathed his sword to fight the apostates (Ahl ar-Ridda).

It is possible that when he said that `Ali kept out of sight, the author meant what he and az-Zubayr did when people were meeting in the hall of the Banu Sa`ida. `Umar b. al-Khattab indicated that in the great speech he made in Madina at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja after the last Hajj he made. This speech is in the Musnad of Imam Ahmad (1:55, first edition; part 1, no. 391, second edition) from the hadith of Ibn `Abbas.

In reality, the riwayat are confused when it comes to making clear what the position of `Ali b. Abi Talib was during the khalifate of Abu Bakr as-Siddiq. Many intrigues played their parts. Lies and fabrications have been woven around it with the intention of upsetting the one with confidence in Islam in general and the Companions in particular. They make a display of fear and enthusiasm about positions and property, even if it is in opposition to the shari`a. We transmit in what follows the soundest of the riwayat regarding the position of `Ali. Then we will bring some of the riwayat which say that he refused to take the oath of allegiance until Fatima, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died. We will make the forgeries and lies clear.

Muhammad `Izza Daruza said in his book, 'The Arab Race' (7:14 et seq.), "At-Tabari related from `Abdullah b. Sa`id az-Zuhri from his uncle Ya`qub from Sa`id b. `Umar from al-Walid b. `Abdullah from al-Walid b. Jami` az-Zuhri that `Amr b. Harith asked Sa`id b. Zayd and said, "When was Abu Bakr given the oath of allegiance? Were you present at the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace?" He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'On the day that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died, they did not want even part of a day to pass without meeting together. `Amr asked, 'Did anyone oppose him?' He said, 'No, except for the one who was an apostate or who would have apostatized if Allah had not delivered them from the Ansar.' He said, 'Did any of the Muhajirun abstain?' He said, 'No, they followed in his homage without being summoned.' (part 2, p. 447)"

It is evident that what the speaker meant by saying what he did referred to the position of Sa`d b. `Ubada and his helpers on the day of the Hall and their striving for the rulership. Allah saved them and made them back down and follow Abu Bakr rather than bring about division, opposition and contention. The riwaya demonstrates the strong desire of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah among the Muhajirun and the Ansar to be very swift in the business of settling the problem of leadership. It tells that the Hashimites, who were among the Muhajirun, also followed in the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr and that none of them abstained from it.

At-Tabari related the tradition of `Ali giving homage to Abu Bakr immediately and openly when it is related with his isnads from Habib b. Abi Thabit that Ali was in his house when the news came to him that Abu Bakr was sitting for the oath of homage. He went out in his shirt without buttons or cloak in haste, not liking to delay giving him homage. Then he sat with him and sent for his garment to be brought to him and he put it on and stayed at the assembly. (2:447)

In any case, that which is agreed upon in the riwayat of the Shi`a and elsewhere is that `Ali and the Banu Hashim immediately gave homage to Abu Bakr or, as at-Tabari related from one riwaya of the Shi`a, after some hesitation they supported him. This indicated a decisive proof that there was no clear will or implicit bequest from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, that the authority should belong to `Ali after him. At-Tabari related the same as that with other isnads in the report that `Ali and the Banu Hashim refused to offer

allegiance to Abu Bakr as long as Fatima was alive because Fatima and al-`Abbas came to Abu Bakr asking for their inheritance from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, which consisted of his land at Fadak and his share of Khaybar. Abu Bakr said to them, "I heard the Messenger of Allah say, 'We do not leave any inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa.' The family of Muhammad will have provision from this money. By Allah, I will not leave anything that I saw the Messenger of Allah do. I will do it." Fatima parted from him and did not speak to him until she died six months after the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. `Ali saw people turning their faces from him and neither he nor any of the Banu Hashim paid homage to Abu Bakr. The story is a long one, but in the end, `Ali gave his homage to Abu Bakr, i.e. after the death of Fatima. One notes that the text of the report of at-Thabari makes the question of the inheritance the cause for the refusal of `Ali and the Banu Hashim to give their homage to Abu Bakr. Their seeking the inheritance from Abu Bakr means that they must have first recognised his khalifate. This contains a contradiction which makes the story break down. If it has any root at all, all that is possible is that after they had given their homage to Abu Bakr, they tried to get what they considered their inheritance from the Prophet. Abu Bakr brought them the hadith of the Prophet which he had heard and the business stopped at this point. Anything beyond that is an addition of the Shi`a and one of their intrigues because it is not possible that `Ali, Fatima and the Banu Hashim did not confirm Abu Bakr in the hadith which he related because they did not argue and persist after they had heard it.

It is strange that the enemies of Islam attack Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, for denying Fatima her inheritance from Fadak and her share of Khaybar while when `Ali himself was appointed khalif, he did not give any of her heirs nor any of the Banu Hashim what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, left because of the hadith, "We do not leave inheritance."

When Abu Bakr forbade that, he also denied his daughter `A'isha this inheritance.

There are other mixed and false riwayat about `Ali and the Banu Hashim rejecting the homage of Abu Bakr. We have ignored them since they are discredited. There are many riwayat which confirm that `Ali hastened to give his homage to Abu Bakr and to help him in the affairs of the khalifate. He, of all people, knew best how excellent Abu Bakr was.

As for `Uthman, he was silent. As for `Umar, he talked unthinkingly, saying, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, has not died! Allah has met with him as he met with Musa.

4. An allusion to the words of Allah in sura al-Baqara (2:51), "When We appointed forty nights with Musa." He, glory be to Him! said in 7:142, "We appointed thirty nights with Musa and We completed it with ten, so the appointed time of his Lord was completed as forty nights."

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, will return and cut off the

hands and feet of some people!"

5. The Musnad of Ahmad (3:196, first edition) has the hadith of Anas b. Malik on the day of the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. In it, "Then the curtain was let down and he died on that day. `Umar stood up and said, 'The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, has not died, but his Lord has sent for him as he sent for Musa. He remained away from his people for forty days. I hope that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, will live until he cuts off the hands and tongues of some men among the hypocrites who claim that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, has died.'" In 'The Virtues of the Companions' in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (Book 62, chap. 5) from `A'isha, "'Umar got up saying, 'By Allah, it has just occurred to me that Allah will bring him to life and he will cut off the hands and feet of some men.'" Ibn Kathir quoted in 'The Beginning and the End' (5:242) what al-Bayhaqi related by means of Ibn Luhay`a from Abu'l-Aswad from `Urwa b. az-Zubayr. He said, "'Umar b. al-Khattab stood up and addressed the people and threatened the one who said 'He has died' with killing and cutting off hands. He said, 'The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, has fainted. If he arises, he will kill and cut off hands.'" In 5:241 of 'The Beginning and the End' from the hadith of `A'isha who mentioned the hour in which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died. "'Umar and al-Mughira b. Shu`ba came and asked permission to enter. She gave them permission. Then they got up, when he came near the door, al-Mughira said, 'Umar, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, is dead.' `Umar said, 'You lie! You are a man with whom sedition has been mixed. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, will not die until Allah eradicates the hypocrites!'"

The meaning of "ahjara" is to talk irrationally and to mix words and to say a lot of words. That arose from the terror which occurred in the heart of `Umar because of this terrible event. He almost could not believe it.

Al-Abbas and `Ali were concerned with their position during the illness of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Al-`Abbas said to `Ali, "I see death in the faces of the Banu `Abdul Muttalib. Come so that we can ask the Messenger of Allah, we may know if this affair is ours."

6. `Ali, may Allah honour his face, answered, "By Allah, if we ask the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and he denies it to us, the people will not give it to us after him. By Allah, I will not ask the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, for it." Al-Bukhari related in 'The Book of Raids' from his 'Sahih' (book 64, chap. 83, part 5, no. 2999, second edition).

`Abbas and `Ali were concerned with their inheritance from what the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, left of Tabuk, the Banu'n-Nadir and Khaybar.

7. Details of it will come in the discussion about the hadith of "We do not leave inheritance.

What we leave is sadaqa."

The business of the Ansar was agitated with their seeking authority for themselves or sharing in it with the Muhajirun.

8. The meeting took place in the hall of the Banu Sa`ida. Sa`id b. `Ubada was among them. They thought that the command was theirs because the land was their land and they were the Ansar of Allah and the squadron of Islam. As for Quraysh, they were an army who had come on slowly to emigrate. Authority must not be cut off from the Ansar. A speaker from among them (who was al-Hubab b. al-Mundhir) said, "I am the rubbing-post and the fruitful propped-up palm. Let there be an Amir from us and an Amir from you." In addition to that, a man of the Ansar who was Bashir b. Sa`id al-Makhzumi, the father of an-Nu`man b. Bashir, preceded `Umar in offering homage to Abu Bakr. Before that, there were two right-acting men in the hall, `Uwaym b. Sa`ida al-Awsi and Ma`d b. `Adi, the ally of the Ansar. They did not like this contention from the Ansar. They left, thinking that the Muhajirun would finish the business without turning to anyone. But the wisdom of Abu Bakr and the light of iman which filled his heart had a further measure and he was more precise in managing this community at the time of its greatest calamity.

Those who had gone out with Usama b. Zayd stopped at Al-Jurf.

9. There were 700 in this army. The commander in charge of it was Usama b. Zayd. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had ordered them to travel to the approaches of al-Balqa' (east Jordan) when Zayd b. Haritha, Ja`far b. Abi Talib and Ibn Rawha were killed. When he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, moved to the Higher Friend, many of the Companions, including `Umar, indicated that the Siddiq should not send this army because of the commotion which had occurred among people, especially in the tribes. Ibn Kathir quoted in 'The Beginning and the End' (6:304-305) the hadith of al-Qasim and the `Amra from `A'isha who said, "When the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died, the Arabs apostatized and drank in hypocrisy. By Allah, something happened to me and if it had come down on the firm mountains, they would have broken. The Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, became as if they were agitated goats in the grass on a stormy night in the wild. By Allah, they did not disagree about a single dot, without my father removing their prattle, their reins and their conclusion."

Protection

Allah helped Islam and the people and made sorrow pass as the clouds pass and the promise of Allah was carried out when Allah took the Messenger of Allah to Himself.

10. Allah takes someone to Himself when he dies.

And established his deen in its perfection. Islam was afflicted by the calamity which befell it. Allah helped it by Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, may Allah be pleased with him.

11. Allah helped Islam and the people by Abu Bakr.

When the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died, Abu Bakr was away at his property at Sunh.

12. In 'The Beginning and the End' by Ibn Kathir (5:244), the Siddiq prayed with the muslims at the morning prayer. At that time, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had fainted from the pain of his illness. The curtain of the room was raised and he looked at the muslims who lined up for the prayer behind Abu Bakr. He liked that and smiled until people were so moved that they left the prayer because of their joy at it and until Abu Bakr wanted to delay so that he could go back into the row. He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, indicated to them to remain as they were and the the curtain come down. It was the end of his mission, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. When Abu Bakr finished the prayer, he came to him and said to `A'isha, 'I do not see the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, without feeling his pain.' This was the day of Bint Kharija, one of his two wives. She lived in Sunh, in the eastern part of Madina. He rode on his horse to his house. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died in the heat of mid-morning. Salim b. `Ubayd went after him and informed him about the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. The Siddiq came when the news reached him. He did what the author mentioned." Sunh consisted of some houses of the Banu al-Harith b. al-Khazraj in the upper part of Madina about one mile from the mosque of the Prophet.

He came to the room of his daughter `A'isha, may Allah be pleased with her, in which the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had died and uncovered his face. He bent over him and kissed him. He said, "My father and mother be your ransom, Messenger of Allah! You were good in life and in death. By Allah, Allah will not join two deaths for you, as for the death which Allah has written for you, you have come to it." Then he went out to the mosque where the people were and `Umar had begun to speak wild words as has already been stated. He ascended the mimbar. He praised Allah and lauded him. Then he said, "Oh people, whoever worships Muhammad, he is dead. Whoever worships Allah, Allah is the living who does not die." He then recited, "Muhammad is only a Messenger. Messengers have passed away before him. If he dies or is killed, will you turn on your heels? Whoever turns on his heels, he will not harm Allah at all. Allah will reward the thankful (3:144)". People began to recite it in the streets of Madina as if it had only been revealed on that day.

13. Al-Bukhari related it in 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' in his 'Sahih' (book 62, chap. 5, pt. 4, p. 194) from the hadith of `A'isha. In 'The Beginning and the End' by Ibn Kathir (5:242). It is from the hadith of Abu Salama b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf az-Zuhri, one of the eminent men of the muslims, from his father, one of the ten promised the Garden, from `A'isha, Umm al-Mu'minin, in whose room these events took place and in the mosque of the

Prophet onto which her room looked. All the volumes of the sunnan record this great stand by the Siddiq by the soundest hadith and their words are similar.

The Ansar met in the hall of the Banu Sa`ida to consult each other. They did not know what to do. That reached the Muhajirun and they said, "We will send for them to come to us." Abu Bakr said, "Rather we will go to them." The Muhajirun went to them. They included Abu Bakr, `Umar, and Abu `Ubayda. They consulted each other. One of the Ansar said, "We will have an Amir and you will have an Amir."

14. The one who said that was one of the speakers of the Ansar, al-Hubab b. al-Mundhir.

Abu Bakr said many correct words. He spoke a great deal and went straight to the point. He said, "We are the Amirs and you are the Wazirs. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "The imams are from Quraysh".

15. The hadith is in the Musnad of at-Tayyalisi (no. 926 from Abu Barza, no. 2133 from Anas). It is in 'The Book of Judgments' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 93, chap. 2, pt. 8, pp. 104-105) from Mu`awiya that he heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say, "This command is in the Quraysh. No one will attack them in it without Allah throwing him on his face as long as they establish the deen." From Ibn `Umar is that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "This matter will remain in Quraysh as long as two of them remain." In the Musnad of Imam Ahmad (3:129, first edition) from Anas b. Malik, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, stood at the door of the house while we were in it. He said, 'Imams are from Quraysh. They have a right over you ... etc.'" Imam Ahmad also related it in the Musnad (3:183, first edition) from Anas. He said, "We were in the room of a man of the Ansar. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, came and stood there. He leaned on the doorpost and said 'Imams are from Quraysh. They have a right over you and you have the like of that, etc.'" Imam Ahmad related it like that (4:421, first edition) from Abu Barza directly to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He said, "Imams are from Quraysh. When they ask for mercy, mercy is given. When they make a contract, they fulfil it. When they judge, they are just. Whoever does not do that among them, the curse of Allah, the angels and all people is upon him."

And he said, "I urge you to deal well with the Ansar. You should accept their good and overlook their evil."

16. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Ansar' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 63, chap.11) from the hadith of Hisham b. Zayd b. Anas, he said, "I heard Anas b. Malik say, Abu Bakr and al-`Abbas, may Allah be pleased with them, passed by one of the assemblies of the Ansar and they were weeping. (It is evident that that was during the final illness of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace). He said, 'Why are you weeping?' They said, 'We were remembering the assembly of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and told him that. He said, 'The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace,

went out with a bandage on his head. He went up the mimbar, and after that day he never went up it again. He praised Allah and glorified Him. Then he said, 'Treat the Ansar well. They are my close Companions to whom I have entrusted secrets. They have discharged what they had to do and what they are owed remains. Accept the good among them and overlook the bad.'" Then after that in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari, there is the hadith of `Ikrima from Ibn `Abbas and the hadith of Qatada from Anas with the same meaning. Near it is what is in the 'Sahih' of Muslim from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and in 'The Sunan' of at-Tirmidhi from Ibn `Abbas.

Allah called us 'Truthful' and he called you successful.

17-18. In sura 59:8-9, "It is for the poor Muhajirun who were expelled from their homes and their property, seeking favour from Allah and good pleasure, and helping Allah and His Messenger. These are the truthful. Those who make their dwelling in the city and in belief before them love those who have emigrated to them and they do not find any need in themselves for what they are given. And they prefer them over themselves even if they are in difficult straits. Whoever is guarded against the avarice of his self, those are the successful."

He commanded you to be with us wherever we are by his words, 'Oh you who believe, fear Allah and be with the truthful' (9:119)" He had other correct words and strong proofs. The Ansar remembered that and submitted to it and offered his homage to Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, may Allah be pleased with him.

19. Ibn Kathir quoted in 'The Beginning and the End' (5:247) from the hadith of Imam Ahmad from Hamid b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf az-Zuhri (the nephew of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman) from the speech of Abu Bakr in the hall of the Banu Ba`ida. Part of it is "You know that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, 'If people were to travel through one valley and the Ansar travelled through another valley, I would travel through the valley of the Ansar.' You know, Sa'd, that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said while you were seated, 'Quraysh are the rulers of this business. Good people follow the good among them and the corrupt follow the corrupt among them.'" Sa'd said to him, "You spoke the truth. We are the Wazirs and you are the Amirs."

Abu Bakr said to Usama, "Carry out the command of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace." `Umar said, "How can you send this army when the arabs are against you?" He said, "If the dogs were to play with the bangles of the women of Madina, I would not bring back an army which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent out."

20. In 'The Beginning and the End' (6:305), Ibn Kathir quoted from Abu Bakr al-Bayhaqi the hadith of Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Firyabi (al-Bukhari said that he was the best of the people of his time) from `Ubbad b. Kathir ar-Ramli, one of his shaykhs (Ibn al-Madini said that he was reliable and there is no harm in him) from `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Hurmuz al-A'raj (one of

the Tabi`un who died in Alexandria) from Abu Hurayra who said, "By Allah, there is no god but Him. If Abu Bakr had not been appointed, Allah would not have been worshipped."

Then he said it a second and a third time. It was said to him, "Easy, Abu Hurayra!" He said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent Usama b. Zayd with seven hundred men to Syria. When he alighted at Dhu'l-Khasab, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died and the Arabs around Madina apostatized. The Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, gathered round him and they said, "Abu Bakr, turn those men back. They are sent to the Greeks when the Arabs around Madina have apostatized!?" He said, "By Allah, there is no god but Him. If the dogs were to snap at the feet of the wives of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, I still would not turn back an army which the Messenger of Allah had sent nor undo what the Messenger of Allah had tied." He sent Usama. He did not pass by a tribe who wanted to apostatize without them saying, "If it had not been that those men had strength, they would never have sent out the like of these. We will wait until they have encountered the Greeks. They met the Greeks and defeated and killed them and returned safely, so the tribes remained firm in Islam."

`Umar and others said to him, "If the Arabs deny you the zakat, then be patient with them." He said, "By Allah, if they will not give me a camel-halter which is due to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, I will fight them for it. I will fight those who make any distinction between zakat and the prayer!"

21. When the army of Usama went on its course to eastern Jordan, the delegates of the tribes began to come to Madina. They confirmed the prayer but refused to pay zakat. Ibn Kathir said (6:311), "Some of them used as a proof His words, may He be exalted! 'Take sadaqa from their property by which to purify them and pray over them. Their prayer is a comfort for them.'", (9:103) They said, 'We only give our zakat for his prayer which is a comfort for us.' The Companions spoke with the Siddiq about leaving them alone in spite of their refusing to pay zakat and to unite them until iman was firm in their hearts. Then after that they would give zakat. The Siddiq refused to do that and rejected it." Most people related in their books - except for Ibn Majah - from Abu Hurayra that `Umar b. al-Khattab said to Abu Bakr, "How can you fight people when the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'I am commanded to fight people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. When they say that, their blood and their property are protected from me except by a right.'" Abu Bakr said, "By Allah, if they refuse to give me a camel-halter (or rein), which they used to give to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, I will fight them for refusing it." `Umar said, "I see that Allah has expanded Abu Bakr's breast to fight the one who makes a distinction between the prayer and zakat. I recognise that it is the truth." This hadith is in the Musnad of Ahmad (1:11 & 19 and 35-36, first edition, pt. 1, no. 67, 117 & 239, second edition) from the hadith of `Ubayd b. `Abdullah b. `Utba from Abu Hurayra. In 'The Beginning and the End' (6:312), al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. Abu Bakr as-Siddiq (and he is one of the seven fuqaha') said, "Asad,

Ghatafan and Tayy' gathered with Tulayha al-Asadi and they sent delegations to Madina and stayed with the notable people who put them up with the exception of al-`Abbas. They took them to Abu Bakr for him to allow them to do the prayer and not pay the zakat. Allah made Abu Bakr resolve on the truth and he said, "If they refuse a camel-strap to me, you must fight them."

It was said, "With whom will you fight them?" He said, "By myself until the side of neck is on its own." He sent Amirs over the armies and governors into the lands chosen for them with due consideration. That was one of the most exact things that he did and the best of what he did for Islam.

23. At the front of those leaders were Abu `Ubayda `Amir b. `Abdullah b. al-Jarrah al-Fihri, `Amr b. al-`Asi as-Sahmi, Khalid b. al-Walid al-Makhzumi, Khalid b. Sa`id b. al-`Asir al-Umawi, Yazid b. Abi Sufyan, `Idrima b. Abi Jahl, al-Muhajir b. Abi Umayya, the brother of Umm Salama, Shurahbil b. Hasana, Mu`awiya b. Abi Sufyan, Suhayl b. `Amr al-`Amiri, the Khatib of Quraysh, al-Qa`qa` b. `Amr at-Tamimi, `Arfaja b. Harthama al-Bariqi, al-`Ala` b. al-Hadrami, the ally of the Banu Umayya, al-Muthanna b. Haritha ash-Shaybani and Hudhayfa b. Muhsin al-Ghatafani. At the head of his governors were `Attab b. Usayd al-Umawi, `Uthman b. al `As ath-Thaqafi, Ziyad b. Labid al-Ansari, Abu Musa al-Ash`ari, Mu`adh b. Jabal, Ya`la b. Munabbih, Jarir b. `Abdullah al-Bajili, `Iuad b. Ghanim, al-Walid b. `Uqba b. Abi Mu`ayt, `Abdullah b. Thawr, one of the Banu Ghawth and Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzni.

He said to Fatima, `Ali and al-`Abbas, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said 'We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa.'" The Companions remembered that.

24. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 62, chapter 12, pt. 4, pp. 209-210) is the hadith of az-Zuhri from `Urwa b. az-Zubayr from `A'isha that Fatima sent to Abu Bakr to ask him for her inheritance from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, which was in Madina and Fadak and what remained of the fifth of Khaybar. Abu Bakr said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa.' The family of Muhammad have provision from this property (i.e. the property of Allah). They do not have more than that provision. By Allah, I will not change any of the sadaqat of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, which existed in the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. I will act as the Messenger of Allah acted." `Ali said the shahada and then he said, "We recognise your virtue Abu Bakr (and he mentioned their kinship from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and their right)." Abu Bakr said, "By the One in whose hand my self is, the family of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, are dearer to me than joining my kin to me." There is more of it in the 'Book of Raids' in the chapter on the raid of Khaybar in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 64, chap. 38, pt. 5, p. 82).

In 'The Book of Bequests' from the 'Sahih' of Al-Bukhari (book 55, chap. 32, pt. 3, p. 197) and 'The Book of the Division' of the fifth from it (book 57, chap. 3, pt. 4, p. 45) is the hadith of Abu'z Zinad from al-A'raj from Abu Hurayra that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "My heirs will not divide a dinar. What I leave after the maintenance of my family and provision of my agent is sadaqa." In the Path of the Sunna (2:158), Ibn Taymiyya quoted the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa." It is related from him by Abu Bakr, `Umar, `Uthman, `Ali, Talha, az-Zubayr, Sa`d, `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf, al-`Abbas b. `Abdul Muttalib, the wives of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and Abu Hurayra. The riwaya from those is firm in the Sahih volumes and the Musnads. He said before that (2:157), "Allah ta'ala guarded the Prophets from bequeathing this world so that that would not be a cause of suspicion for anyone wanting to attack their prophecy by saying that they sought this world and bequeathed it to their heirs." The heirs of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, also included his wives. One of them was `A'isha, the daughter of Abu Bakr. She was denied her portion by this prophetic hadith. If Abu Bakr had acted by his natural inclination, he would have wanted his daughter to inherit.

In 'The Book of the Division of the Fifth' in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 5, chap. 1, pt. 4, p.42) is the hadith of Ibn Shihab from `Urwa b. az-Zubayr that `A'isha stated that Fatima, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, asked Abu Bakr as-Siddiq after the death of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, to allot her inheritance to her from what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, left from what Allah had given him as booty. Abu Bakr said to her, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa.'" Abu Bakr refused her that and said, "I will not leave anything which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did. I will do it. I fear that if I were to leave anything he did, I would be misguided."

In the same chapter in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (pt. 4, pp. 42-44) in the hadith of Imam Malik b. Anas from Ibn Shihab from Malik b. `Aws b. al-Hadhathan an-Nasiri is that he said, "While I was sitting among my family when the sun was high, the messenger of `Umar b. al-Khattab said, 'Respond to the Amir al-Mu'minin.' I went with him. While I was sitting with him, his steward approached him. He said, 'Yes', giving them permission. Then he sat down. The steward approached him again after a short time and said, 'Will you see `Ali and `Abbas?' He said, 'Yes', giving them permission. They came in and greeted and sat down. `Abbas said, 'Amir al-Mu'minin! Decide between me and this one.' They were arguing about what Allah had given His Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, of booty from the Banu-n-Nadir. The group, `Uthman and his companions, said, 'Amir al-Mu'minin! Decide between then and free one of them from the other.' `Umar said, 'Gently! I ask you by Allah, by whose permission the heaven and the earth are established, do you know what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa." meaning the Messenger of Allah himself?' The group

said, 'That is what he said.' He turned to `Ali and `Abbas and said, 'I ask you by Allah, do you know that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said that?' They said, 'That is what he said.' Then he mentioned that he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, used to spend on his family for the year from their property. Then he made what remained the property of Allah. He asked them to testify to that and they testified. Then he said, 'Then Allah made His Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, die.' Abu Bakr said 'I am the guardian of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.' He took it and acted as the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had acted. Allah knows that he was truthful in it, dutiful, right-guided, following the truth. Then Allah made Abu Bakr die. I am the guardian of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. I have taken it for two years of my command. I act concerning it by what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did and do what Abu Bakr did about it. Allah knows that I am truthful concerning it, dutiful, right-guided, following the truth. Then you come to me and your words are the same and your business is the same. You come to me, `Abbas, asking me for your portion from your nephew. This one (meaning `Ali) comes to me to ask for his wife's share from her father. I told you, that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa.' Since it is clear to me that I have made it over to you, I say, 'If you wish, I will give it to you provided that you have the contract of Allah and His agreement that you will act concerning it according to how the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, acted concerning it and by what Abu Bakr acted concerning it, and by what I have acted on it, since I was put in charge of it.' If you say, 'Give it to us,' by that, I give it to you. I ask you by Allah, did I give them that?' The group said, 'Yes.' Then he turned to `Ali and al-`Abbas and said, 'I ask you by Allah, did I give you that?' They said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Will you demand from me to carry out other than that? By Allah, by whose permission the heaven and the earth is established, that is my only decision about it. If you are incapable of it, then give it to me. I will spare you from it.'"

Al-Bukhari related this hadith of Malik b. `Aws in 'The Book of the Raids' in the 'Sahih' (book 64, chap. 24, pt. 5, pp. 23-24) from the hadith of Shu`ayb from az-Zuhri from Malik b. `Aws in 'The Book of Maintenance' from his 'Sahih' (book 69, chap. 3, pt. 6, pp. 190-192) and in 'The Book of Clinging to the Book and the Sunna' in his 'Sahih' (book 96, cap. 5, pt. 8, pp. 146-147). Look at 'The Book of the Shares of Inheritance' in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 5, chap. 3, pt. 8, pp. 3-5) and 'The Musnad of Imam Ahmad' (1:13, first edition, no. 77 & 78, second edition.)

Ibn Taymiyya said in the path of the Sunna (3:230) "Until Abu Bakr and `Umar gave from the property of Allah many times what the inheritance would have been to those who would have inherited it. He said, 'He took a village from them which was not large. He did not take a city or a great village from them.'" Then he said, (3:231), "'Ali was appointed after that. Fadak and other places were under his authority. He did not give any of the inheritance to the children of Fatima nor to the wives of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace,

nor to the children of al-`Abbas."

In all of that, he was composed, with firm knowledge and position in the deen. Then he appointed `Umar his successor, so the baraka of Islam appeared. The true promise was carried out in the two khalifs

It is the promise of Allah, the Mighty, the Exalted, in the sura of Light (24:55), "Allah has promised those of you who believe and do right actions that He will appoint you khalifs in the land as He has appointed those before you as khalifs and that He will make their deen firm for them which He has approved for them and He will give them security in exchange after their fear. They will serve Me and not associate anything with Me. Whoever rejects after that, those are the deviants." The Islamic society, under the direction of these two khalifs, was the happiest society history has known because people from the rulers to the common people were dealing with each other by preferring others. One of them would be content with what would fulfil his needs and would expend from himself as much as he could bring out from it, striving to establish the truth in the earth and to make good between people universal. The good man among them would meet a man who had evil inclinations towards him and he would continue with him until he numbed the elements of evil which attacked him and awakened in him the elements of good that were concealed, until he became one of the people of good. In those ascribing to Islam up until this very day, there are groups whose hearts are filled with malice, even towards Abu Bakr and `Umar, let alone those from whom Abu Bakr and `Umar sought help among the people of excellence and ihsan. From false reports, they fabricated personalities for them other than their real personalities, so that they are satisfied that they hate some people among them who deserved this hatred. For this reason, Islamic "history" is full of lies. There will be no new renaissance for the muslims unless they recognise the reality of their predecessors and take them as a model. They will not realise the reality of their predecessors except by purifying Islamic history of what is attached to it.

Then `Umar made it a council. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf removed himself from the business so that he could look and be careful about the one he should put forward.

27. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 62, chap. 8, pt. 4, pp. 204-207) is the hadith of `Amr b. Maymun, one of the students of Mu`adh and Ibn Mas`ud and one of the shaykhs of ash-Shu`bi and Sa`id b. Jibayr and their level. This hadith contains the news of the murder of the Amir al-Mu'minin, `Umar, and how `Umar made the khalifate a council between six with whom the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was pleased when he died and how `Abdu'r-Rahman removed himself from them. Then he came to the point where he advanced `Uthman. This hadith is the soundest thing of what is established in this subject and the most excellent. Then read what the shaykh al-Islam, Ibn Taymiyya wrote in 'The Book of the Path of the Sunna' (3:167-172), about the position of `Umar when he made it a matter of consultation. In it is fine right guidance as to the agreement, love and mutual help which existed between the Banu Hashim

and Banu Umayya in the days of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

Ibn Taymiyya quoted in (3:233-234) the words of Imam Ahmad, "People did not agree on any allegiance as they agreed on the allegiance to `Uthman. The Muslims appointed him after they had consulted each other for three days. They agreed, were in harmony and mutual love, all holding to the rope of Allah. Allah informed them and made them victorious by the guidance and the deen of the truth, with which He had sent His Prophet, and He helped them against the unbelievers. He opened the land of Syria and Iraq by means of them as well as some of Khorasan."

He advanced `Uthman. This was his opinion of Him: that he did not break a contract nor break an agreement nor embark on something disliked. He did not oppose a sunna.

28. How can one not have a good opinion of `Uthman when the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, testified to the purity of his conduct and that he would have a good seal. The Prophet did not speak from passion. It is only a revelation revealed. Ibn Hajar said in the biography of `Uthman in the Isaba, "It has come from mutawatir directions that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, gave `Uthman the good news of the Garden and that he counted him among the people of the Garden and testified that he would be a martyr. The hadith which are related by mutawatir transmission about that from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, are not in doubt. Anyone who inclines to something other than what they indicate is content to fling himself into the gates of al-Jahim. At-Tirmidhi related by means of al-Harith b. `Abdu'r-Rahman from Talha, one of the ten who were given the good news of the Garden, that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said "Each Prophet has a friend. My friend in the Garden is `Uthman." Ibn `Abdu'l-Barr said in the biography of `Uthman in the Isti'ab, "It is confirmed from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, that he said, 'I asked my Lord that none of my in-laws would enter the Fire or go to it.'" Another testimony from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, about this excellent man is that he was one whose like would be hoped for by Abu Bakr and `Umar. Imam Muslim related in 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' from the 'Sahih' (book 44, chap. 26, pt. 4, p. 203) from Nafi`, that `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab said, "In the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, we did not think anyone equal to Abu Bakr, then `Umar, then `Uthman. Then we would leave the Companions of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and would not distinguish between them." It was said to al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra, "Why was `Uthman called Dhu'n-Nurayn?" He said, "Because it is not known that anyone let down a curtain (to be alone) with two daughters of a prophet but him". Khaythama said in 'The Virtues of the Companions' from an-Nazzal b. Sabra al-`Amiri (one of those who took from Abu Bakr, `Uthman and `Ali, and he was one of the shaykhs of ash-Shu'bi, ad-Dahhak and their level), he said, "We said to `Ali, 'We related from `Uthman.' He said, 'That is a man who is called Dhu'n-Nurayn in the Highest Assembly.'"

Ibn Mas'ud said when homage was paid to `Uthman at the time when he became khalif, "We have given homage to the best of us and we did not neglect." `Ali b. Abi Talib described him after his term had passed and said, "'Uthman was the closest of us to his kin and he was among those who believe, then are fearfully aware and do good. Allah loves those who do good." Salim b. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab related that his father said, "We censured `Uthman for some things for which we would not have censured `Umar." `Abdullah b. `Umar was an eye-witness to the khalifate of `Uthman from its beginning to its end. He was the strongest of people in clinging to the Muhammadan sunna. In spite of that, he testified that everything for which `Uthman was censured could have come from `Umar, his father. If that had been from `Umar, no one would have blamed him for it. Mubarak b. Faddala, the client of Zayd b. al-Khattab said, "I heard `Uthman speaking, 'Oh people! Why do you take revenge on me? There has not been a day in which you do not divide up booty.'" Al-Hasan al-Basri said, "I saw the caller of `Uthman calling out, 'Oh people, come in the morning for your gifts.' They came and took them in full. 'Oh people, come in the morning for your provision.' They came and they took it in full, until by Allah, my ears heard, 'Come in the morning for your clothes,' and they took robes of honour. 'Come in the morning for ghee and honey.'" Al-Hasan said, "Provision was abundant. There was much wealth and clear substance. There was no believer on the earth who feared another believer, rather he loved him, helped him and was friendly to him. If the Ansar restrained themselves from selfishness, they would have had a lot of the gifts and provision that there were. However, they were not patient. They unsheathed the sword with those who unsheathed it and they sheathed it from the unbelievers and unsheathed it against the muslims. (That is related from him by Ibn `Abdu'l-Barr). Ibn Sirin, the twin and colleague of al-Hasan al-Basri, was also a contemporary of `Uthman, said, "There was much wealth in the time of `Uthman until a slavegirl was sold for her weight and a horse for 100,000 dinars and a palm tree for 1000 dirhams." `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab was asked about `Ali and `Uthman. He said to the asker, "May Allah make you ugly! You ask about two men. Both of them are better than you and you want me to diminish one of them and elevate the other?"

The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, told that `Umar would be a martyr and that `Uthman would be a martyr and that he would have the Garden for the affliction which would strike him.

29. In 'The Virtues of the Companions' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 62, chap. 7, pt. 4, p. 202) is the hadith of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari who said, "The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, entered a garden and commanded me to guard the door to the Garden. A man came to ask permission to enter. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'Give him permission and give him the good news of the Garden.' It was `Abu Bakr. Then another man came and asked for permission to enter. He said, 'Give him permission and give him the good news of the Garden.' It was `Umar. Then another came and asked permission. He was silent a moment and then said, 'Give him permission and give him the good news of the Garden for an affliction which will strike him.' That was `Uthman

b. `Affan." (Look at the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari, book 62, chap. 5 & 6, pt. 4, pp. 195-197) from the hadith of Abu Musa al-Ash`ari. Ibn Majah related in chapter 11 of the preface of 'The Sunan' (pt. 1, p. 28, Egyptian edition, 1313) from Muhammad b. Sirin, one of the Imams of the Tabi`un, from Ka`b b. `Ujra al-Balawi, the ally of the Ansar, one of those who were present at the umara of Hudaybiyya with the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, in which the ayat of ransom was revealed (2:195). Ka`b b. `Ujra said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, mentioned sedition and said that it was near. A man with his head veiled passed by. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'On that day, this one will have guidance.' I got up and went to him and it was `Uthman. Then I faced the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and said, 'This one?' He said, 'This one.'" In the Musnad of Ahmad (1:582, the first edition, no. 407, second edition) from Abu Sahla, the client of `Uthman (and he is a reliable Tabi`) that `Uthman said on the day of the House when he was surrounded, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, took a pledge from me that I would be patient in it." The hadith is with at-Tirmidhi (4:324) by way of Wukay'. He said, "The hadith is Hasan-Sahih." In Ibn Majah (1:28) there are two hadith. One of them is by Abu Sahla, the client of `Uthman, the other is by `A'isha. Al-Hakam presented them in the two Sahih volumes (3:99) from `A'isha.

He married him to Ruqayya , the daughter of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He was the first emigrant after Ibrahim the Khalil, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He included him in the area of the 'First who ...'

30. As-Suyuti and others of the `ulama before and after him have books which they wrote to name the individuals who preceded others to particular praise-worthy actions and other things. They said. "'Uthman was the first to emigrate in the way of Allah in the first hijra to Abyssinia."

His was a great knowledge which people gathered. Since his imamate is sound, then he was slain unjustly.

31. Iman Ahmad related in his Musnad (2:115, first edition, pt. 8, no. 5953, second edition) from `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab who said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, mentioned sedition. A man passed by and he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'This veiled man will be killed unjustly on that day.'" `Abdullah b. `Umar said, "I looked and it was `Uthman b. `Affan.'" Shaykh Ahmad Shakir said, "at-Tirmidhi related the hadith (4:323) and his commentator quoted from Ibn Hajar that he said, 'His isnad is sound.'" Al-Hakam related the like of it in the Mustadrak (3:102) from Murra b. Ka`b and considered it sound by the preconditions of the two shaykhs. Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him.

So that Allah could carry out His command which is done. He did not declare a war.

32. i.e. Fighting the people of the qibla. As for his wars to elevate the word of Allah and

spread the claim of the truth, he was the most active of anyone known in Islamic history.

Nor put together an army.

33. i.e. To defend himself and to restrain those who acted unjustly against him.

Nor rise to sedition.

34. He was the strongest of Allah's creation in dislike of it and striving to constrict its scope and sparing the blood of the muslims, even if that would lead to him being a sacrifice for someone else.

Nor call to homage.

35. It came in submission to him without him looking for it. Ibn Taymiyya said in the Path of the Sunna (3:164), "The Companions agreed on `Uthman, may Allah be pleased with him, because his appointment was the greatest in benefit and the least in corruption compared with other rulers." Then he said on the following page, "There is no doubt that there were none better than the six with whom the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was pleased, i.e. those whom `Umar had specified. If there was something disliked in each of them, others had things more disliked in them. This is why none better than him was appointed after `Uthman nor any better conduct.

Nor did anyone among his likes and equals fight or contend with him.

36. The equals and likes of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman were his brothers whom the Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar made part of the Council. As for those who obeyed `Abdullah b. Saba' and his followers when they plunged into the snares of sedition, what is between them and the rank of the people of the Council is greater than what is between the nadir and the apex, rather it is greater than what is between good and evil. When evil has gratified them, they introduced it into the history of Islam by their stupidities and their shortsightedness. If its only result was that the movement of Islamic jihad stopped at what was beyond the borders of Islam for many years, that would have been enough of a wrong action and crime. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunan' (2:196), "None of the best muslims entered into the blood of `Uthman. They did not kill nor command that he be killed. He was slain by a group of those who make corruption in the earth from the rabble of the tribes and the people of seditions. `Ali, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "Oh Allah, curse the killers of `Uthman in the land and the sea, the flat and the mountains."

He did not hope for it for himself. There is no disagreement that no one should do it (i.e. murder) to someone other than `Uthman, so how could it be done to `Uthman, may Allah be pleased with him? They have named those who attacked him and we found that they were the people of personal desires with evil tricks between them and their designs.

37. Those groups who shared in the crime against Islam on the Day of the House had various ranks. There were those who were overcome by excess in the deen, so they thought errors

were terrible and they committed crimes in their objection. There were those who inclined to Yemeni partisanship against the shaykhs of the Companions from Quraysh and they had no priority in Islam. They envied the people of Quraysh who had priority for the booty which they received by the Shari`a as a reward for their jihad and their victories. They wanted to have the same without precedence of jihad. These included those who wanted blood-money for the hudud of the Shari`a which had been carried out on some of their relations. They harboured an old feud and rancour in their hearts because of it. They included foolish people whom the Saba'ites gathered because of their weak intellects and compelled to sedition, corruption, and false beliefs. They included the one who was burdened by the goodness of `Uthman and his kindness towards him. He rejected the kindness of `Uthman for what he coveted and did not deserve in leadership and advancement because he grew up in his care. They include those who were injured by `Uthman through some punishment for things which they did contrary to the adab of Islam. The punishment of the Shari`a made them angry at `Uthman. If they had received a harsher one from `Umar, they would have been content with it and obeyed. They included those who were eager for leadership before they were ready for it, being deceived by deceptive intelligence or eloquence not nurtured by wisdom. They rebelled in order to make the business happen before its time. In general, the mercy on which the character of `Uthman was formed and which filled his heart made many envious of him. They wanted to make his mercy a mount for their passions. Perhaps if I had the time, I could devote myself to the study of the personalities of those Kharijites who were against `Uthman and organise the sound known facts which we still have about them so that it would be lesson and instruction for the students of Islamic history.

They were warned and rebuked.

38. The people of well-being, wisdom and pleasure among the notables of their cities and their `Ulama in Kufa, Basra, and Fustat warned them and forbade them. Then Mu`awiya warned them and forbade them in some sessions which he had with them in Syria in their journey to `Uthman as will come in the author's discussion of their attack on Madina with the pretext of going on the Hajj. They turned their false Hajj into outrage against the khalif and shedding his forbidden blood near the grave of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

They stayed with `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid

39. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid was the governor of Mu`awiya over Hums and that part of northern Syria around it up to the end of the Islam of Ibn `Umar. The hadith about their states will come when ash-Shibl al-Makhzumi took possession of them with talons like those of his father.

and he threatened them until they repented.

40. They pretended that they had repented. "When they withdrew to their shaytans, they said, 'We are with you.'"

Then he sent them to `Uthman and they repented.

41. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khalid gave them a choice in going to `Uthman. The greatest of them, al-Ashtar an-Nakh'i, went. This is a story which we will mention in its place in this book.

He gave them a choice and they chose to split up in the lands, so he sent them. When each had gone to what he chose, they organised the sedition and gathered the group together. They came to him....

42. i.e. To the Amir al-Mu'minin, `Uthman.

....all together. He looked at them from the wall of his house, warned them, reminded them and tried to make them cautious about his blood.

43. To make them cautious about something is to restrain them and forbid them by proof and luminous evidence.

Talha came out weeping and cautioning the people. `Ali sent his sons.

44. So that they would both guard the Amir al-Mu'minin, `Uthman and defend him with arms if he so wished.

People said to them,

45. i.e. The attackers said that they had spoken to `Ali, Talha and az-Zubayr.

"You send to us saying, 'Come against those who have altered the sunna of Allah.'

46. The attackers claimed that they had received letters from `Ali, Talha and az-Zubayr calling them to rebel against `Uthman by the claim that he had altered the sunna of Allah. The fact that `Ali, Talha and az-Zubayr denied that they wrote that will come. It is clear that the two groups were both truthful and that the Saba'ites who organised the sedition forged the letters which the rebelling attackers mentioned.

When we come, this one sits in his house (meaning `Ali) and you come out....

47. Addressed to Talha b. `Ubaydullah.

...with your eyes weeping. By Allah, we will not go until we have spilled his blood!"

This was an immense force and oppression on the Companions. They lied in their faces and slandered them. If `Uthman had so wished, he could have asked the Companions for help and they would have helped him immediately.

48. They approached him about that several times. Mu`awiya offered to move the house of the khalifate to Syria or to help him with an army from Syria from which history had only known advancement and victory.

The people came claiming injustice and that they had been wronged.

49. i.e. The rebels assumed the appearance of someone wronged. That is someone who claims that there are matters about which he complains. `Uthman thought that he owed it to them to make his proof clear to them and to people about what they alleged, and how he saw the matters in which they claimed they had been wronged.

And he warned them and they flared up. The Companions wanted to strike them with spears.

50. To attack with a spear. That is a spear with a wide spear head.

`Uthman directed them that none should fight because of him. He submitted and they left him to what he was content to do.

It is an immense question of fiqh: Can a man submit or must he defend himself?

When he submits and forbids anyone to defend him by killing, then is it permitted for someone else to defend him and not to pay any attention to his desire? The `ulama disagree about it.

`Uthman did not do anything objectionable in the beginning of the business nor at the end of it. The Companions did not say that he did anything objectionable. Beware of paying any attention to all the false reports you hear.

51. The gauge of the reports of the history of every community in confidence in its sources and investigating their fitness by the character of the individuals to whom they are ascribed. The reports of Islamic history are transmitted by eye-witnesses who mentioned them to those who came after them and those who related them to those after them. People from those with bias have crept into those transmitters who forged reports on the tongues of others and circulated them in books, either to bring themselves near to some of the people of this world or out of partisanship for a position which they supposed to be part of the deen. One of the virtues of Islamic history - pursuant to what the `ulama of hadith do - is that it singles out a group of the `ulama for the criticism of the riwaya and transmitters, and distinguishes the truthful among them from the liars. That became a respected science which has rules and on which books have been written. Volumes filled with biographies have been written on the transmitters. They contain the information about the level of each transmitter in truthfulness, firmness and trustworthiness in the transmission. Then one of them might have a position based on a party or a madhab with which he inclined to passion. They mentioned that in his biography so that the one who studies their reports will be familiar with areas of strength and weakness in these reports. Those who leap to write in the history of Islam and compose books in it before they are fully ready for it - especially in the criticism of the transmitters and recognition of what the `ulama' verified about their integrity and lack of it - fall into an error which they would have been able to avoid if they had completed the means of knowledge in these areas.

Disaster

Following the transmission of liars, many stated that `Uthman committed some injustices and objectionable things while he was ruler. They included:

- 1) He beat `Ammar until his intestines split open.*
- 2) He beat ibn Mas`ud until his ribs were broken. He denied him his gift.*
- 3) He innovated by collecting the Qur'an and in compiling and burning the copies of the Qur'an.*
- 4) He set up the Hima (sanctuary for animals).*
- 5) He drove Abu Dharr out to Ar-Rabadha.*
- 6) He expelled Abu`d-Darda' from Syria.*
- 7) He brought back Al-Hakam after the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had exiled him.*
- 8) He voided the sunna of shortening the travel-prayer.*
- 9-12) He appointed Mu`awiya,.... (`Abdullah b. `Amir b. Kurayz)*

52. The name of Ibn Kurayz is dropped from the root by the forgetfulness of the copyist or reader in the Algerian publication while he is mentioned in the following defence. It is clear to us that the volumes of the written source on which the Algerian edition was published, was written with some pages not in their proper places in the binding. We adjusted the order of their questions and their answers properly. We did not add any words to the root and we did not take any words from it. By that, we put the confusion right which is clear to the reader in the Algerian edition.

...and Marwan. He appointed al-Walid b. `Uqba who was a deviant and not one of the people of rule.

- 13) Giving Marwan the khums (fifth) of North Africa.*
 - 14) `Umar used to beat with the darra (stick) and he beat with the staff.*
53. The darra is a small stick which the Sultan carries for curbing people.
- 15) He went above the step of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when Abu Bakr and `Umar went below it.*
 - 16) He did not attend Badr and was defeated on the day of Uhud. He was not at the Covenant of Ridwan (at Hdaybiya).*

17) He did not kill `Ubaydullah b. `Umar for Al-Hurumzan who had given the knife to Abu Lu`Lu`a and encouraged him against `Umar until he killed him.)

18) He sent a letter with the slave of his camels to Ibn Abi Sarh, to kill those who were mentioned in it..

Protection

All of this is false in isnad and text. As for their words: "'Uthman did injustices and objectionable things", that is false.

54. As you will see from the proofs which the author will bring, to discredit these questions of theirs, one by one, until we come to the last of them.

1-2) *As for his beating Ibn Mas`ud and denying him his gift, that is a lie.*

55. It was already stated in the margin, p. 49, when `Uthman was given the allegiance, `Abdullah b. Mas`ud said, "We have appointed the highest of us and we did not neglect anyone." When `Uthman was appointed, Ibn Mas`ud was the governor of `Umar over the people of Kufa and Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas was in charge of the prayer and was there. Sa`d and Ibn Mas`ud disagreed about a loan when Sa`d asked him for a loan - as will come. Therefore `Uthman dismissed Sa`d and kept Ibn Mas`ud. Up to this point, the relationship between Ibn Mas`ud and his khalif was untroubled. When `Uthman determined to make one copy of the Qur'an universal in the Islamic world, the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, agreed that it would be the complete copy which agreed with the last form of presentation in which the Book of Allah, the Mighty, the Exalted, was presented to His Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, before his death. Ibn Mas`ud wanted the writing of the mushaf to be entrusted to him. He also wanted his copy of the Qur'an which he had written for himself in the past to remain. (`Uthman acted contrary to what Ibn Mas`ud wanted in both cases.) `Uthman chose Zayd b. Thabit to write the single mushaf because Abu Bakr and `Umar had chosen him before that for this task during the khalifate of Abu Bakr. Abu Bakr and `Umar chose Zayd b. Thabit in the beginning because he was the one who preserved the final form in which the Book of Allah was presented to the Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, before his death. `Uthman was right in this. He knew, as all the Companions knew, the place of Ibn Mas`ud and his knowledge and he confirmed his belief. Then `Uthman was also right in purging all the other copies, including the copy of Ibn Mas`ud, because making the script of the mushaf the one with the most perfect form possible is by the consensus of the Companions the greatest of the things which `Uthman did. Most of the Companions were with `Uthman in that against Ibn Mas`ud. (Look at 'The Path of the Sunna' by Ibn Taymiyya, 3:19, 1-192). In any case, `Uthman did not beat Ibn Mas`ud and did not deny him his gift. He continued to recognise his worth as Ibn Mas`ud continued to obey him as his Imam to whom he had given homage and he believed

that he was the best of the muslims at the moment of the homage.

That he beat `Ammar is also a lie. If his intestines had broken open, he would never have lived.

56. At-Tabari related (5:99) from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib that there was a disagreement between `Ammar and `Abbas b. `Utba b. Abi Lahab which moved `Uthman to discipline them by beating them. I said: This is part of what the one in command does in cases like these both before and after `Uthman. How frequently `Umar did that to the likes of `Ammar and to those who were better than `Ammar by his right of rule over the muslims. When the Saba'ites organised the dissemination of rumours and began to send letters from every city to other cities with false reports, the Companions indicated to `Uthman that he should send men in whom he had confidence to the cities so that they could return and tell him the true state of affairs. `Uthman forgot what had come from `Ammar and sent him to Egypt with his full confidence to investigate the state of affairs there. `Ammar delayed a while in Egypt and the Saba'ites gathered to him to try to make him take their side. `Uthman and his governor in Egypt took steps to remedy this and `Ammar was brought back to Madina by force. `Uthman censured him for what he had dared to do. According to what Ibn `Asakir related in the History of Damascus (7:429), he said to him, "Abu'l-Yaqadhan! You slandered Ibn Abi Lahab when he slandered you, then you were angry with me because I took what was due from you and what was due from him. Oh Allah, I have been given the injustice between me and my community. Oh Allah, I draw near to You by establishing Your hudud on everyone and I do not care. Leave me, `Ammar.." He left. When `Ammar met the common people, he defended himself and denied that. When he met someone he trusted, he admitted what he had done and showed regret. People censured him, parted from him, and disliked him.

Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:192-192), "'Uthman was better than all who spoke against him. He was better than Ibn Mas'ud, `Ammar, Abu Dharr and others in many aspects, as is confirmed by proofs. The words of one who is surpassed do not detract from one who is better, let alone the opposite. That is how what `Ammar said against `Uthman is transmitted as well as what al-Hasan said about `Ammar. It is transmitted that `Ammar said "'Uthman has rejected with the notorious unbelievers." Al-Hasan b. `Ali objected to him saying that. It was the same with `Ali who said to him, "'Ammar, do you reject a Lord in whom `Uthman believes?" Ibn Taymiyya said, "It is clear from that that a believing man who is a wali of Allah, can believe that another believing man who is also a wali of Allah is an unbeliever, and he can be wrong in this opinion. That does not detract from the belief and wilaya of either of them." It is confirmed in the 'Sahih' that Usayd b. Hudayr said to Sa'd b. `Ubada in the presence of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "You are a hypocrite who argues for the hypocrites" and as `Umar b. al-Khattab said to Hatib b. Abi Balta'a, "Messenger of Allah, let me cut the neck of this hypocrite!" He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "He was at Badr. How do you know? Perhaps Allah has looked with pity on the people of Badr and said, 'Act as you like. I have forgiven you.'" `Umar was better than `Ammar and `Uthman was better than Hatib b. Abi Balta'a by many degrees.

`Umar's proof in what he said to Hatib was more apparent than `Ammar's. In spite of this, both of them are people of the Garden. How can `Uthman and `Ammar not be people of the Garden, even if one of them said what he said to the other? However, a group of the `ulama' deny that `Ammar said that. The Shaykh al-Islam said, "In general, when it is said that `Uthman beat Ibn Mas`ud or `Ammar, this does not detract from any of them. We testify that the three are in the Garden and that they are among the great fearful awliya of Allah. A wali of Allah can do something that merits the punishment of the Shari`a, not to mention discipline. `Umar b. al-Khattab beat Ubayy b. Ka`b with the stick when he saw people walking behind them. He said, "This is abasement to the follower and temptation for the followed." If `Uthman disciplined those, either `Uthman was correct in doing it since they deserved that and they repented of that for which they were punished and made amends by discipline and other afflictions or it is by their immense good actions or other things, or it is said that they were completely wronged. The statement about `Uthman is like the statement about them and more so. He was better than them and more entitled to forgiveness and mercy.

The `ulama excuse that because of aspects with which one should not be occupied because they are based on something false.

57. i.e. on the claims of the liars, the enemies of the Companions of the Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, is that the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman beat `Ammar until his intestines split open and that he beat Ibn Mas`ud until his ribs were broken and denied him his gift.

A truth is not based on something false. Do not spend time in keeping up with the ignorant. That has no end.

3) *As for gathering the Qur'an, that was his greatest good work and the greatest virtue, even if he had found it already completed. However, he made it known and returned people to it and cut off the business of dispute about it. The promise of Allah was carried out to preserve the Qur'an at his hands as we have made clear in books on the Qur'an and elsewhere.*

58. i.e. The books of Ibn al-`Arabi connected to the sciences of the Qur'an. We mentioned in his biography (pp. 27-28) that they included 'The Lights of Dawn' (in 70 or 80 volumes), 'The Law of Interpretation' which is among his great works, 'The Judgments of the Qur'an' published in Egypt and 'The Book of the Obscure' and 'The Abrogating and the Abrogated'.

All the Imams....

59. In the preface of Imam Ahmad in his 'Musnad' (1:13, first edition, no. 76, second edition and 5:188-189, first edition), Imam al-Bukhari from his 'Sahih' in 'The Book of Tafsir' (book 65, sura 9, chap. 20, pt. 5, pp. 210-211), 'The Book of the Virtues of the Qur'an' (book 66, chap. 3 & 4, pt. 6, pp. 98-99), 'The Book of the Judgments' (book 93, chap. 37, pt. 8, pp. 118-119) and 'The Book of Tawhid' (book 97, chap. 22, pt. 8, pp. 176-177).

....related that Zayd b. Thabit said, "Abu Bakr sent to me about the murderous fight with the people of Yamana.

60. That was when the Banu Hanifa apostatized under the leadership of Musaylima the Liar and by the encouragement of the enemy of Allah, Ar-Rajjal b. `Anfawa b. Nahshal al-Hanafi. The generalship of the muslims belonged to the sword of Allah, Khalid b. al-Walid, and Zayd b. al-Khattab, the brother of `Umar, was martyred in this bloody fight. The huffaz of the Qur'an among the Companions consulted among themselves and said, "Oh people of the sura of the Cow, the dawn today is false." The Khatib of the Ansar and the bearer of their banner, Thabit b. Qays shrouded himself and dug his feet into the ground up to the middle of his legs. He continued to fight remaining firm in his place with the banner until he was martyred. The Muhajirun said to Salim, the client of Abu Hudhayfa, "Do you fear we will come before you?" He answered, "Then I would be an evil bearer of the Qur'an." He fought until he was martyred. Abu Hudhayfa said, "They have adorned the Qur'an by action." He continued to fight until he was struck down. One of those martyred on that day was Huzn b. Abi Wahb, al-Makhzumi, the grandfather of Sa'id b. al-Musaayyib. The battlecry of the Companions of that day was, "Muhammad!" They were steadfast on that day with a patience which has never been matched, until the apostates sought refuge in Hadiqatu'l-Mawt and Musaylima and his men sought shelter in it. Al-Bara' b. Malik said, "Oh company of muslims! Throw me inside the garden and I will open its doors to you." They carried him over the ditches and raised him with spears and threw him into the garden over the walls. He continued to fight the apostates by its door until he opened it and the muslims entered and there was victory. Among those who plunged into the garden was Abu Dujana, one of the fighters of Badr, and when he reached Musaylima, he got above him with his sword and killed him. He broke his foot in that battle, may Allah be pleased with him, and then obtained martyrdom. 'The Beginning and the End' (6:334-340) has the names of many of the martyrs of this terrible day in Islam. They included those who knew the Qur'an by heart.

While `Umar b. al-Khattab was with him, Abu Bakr said, "'Umar has come to us and said, 'Fighting was intense on the day of Yamana, and many of the reciters were killed. I fear that if many more reciters are killed in other places, then much of the Qur'an will be lost. I think that the Qur'an should be gathered together.' I said to `Umar, 'How can we do something which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not do?' `Umar said, 'This is good, by Allah.' He continued to argue with me until Allah opened my breast to it and I thought the same as `Umar thought about it.'" Zayd said, "Abu Bakr said, 'You are a young man of intellect and we do not suspect you. You used to write down the revelation of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, so look for the Qur'an and assemble it.' By Allah, if they had asked me to move a mountain, that would not have been heavier on me than what they commanded me to do in assembling the Qur'an. I said, 'How can you do something which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not do?' `Umar said, 'By Allah, this is good.' He continued to argue with me until Allah expanded my breast to that which he expanded the breast of Abu Bakr and `Umar. I

sought after the Qur'an in order to assemble it from palm branches, thin stones and the hearts of men.....

61. `Usub, the plural of `Asib is a palm branch without leaves, they are the parts on which the leaves do not grow. Likhaf (the plural of lukhfa) are fine white stones. They used to write on both of them when paper was scarce.

....until I found the end of the sura At-Tawba with Khuzayma Al-Ansari which I did not find with anyone else: 'A messenger from Allah has come from among you ...' until the end of the sura."

The pages remained with Abu Bakr until Allah made him die. Then they were with `Umar during his lifetime. Then they were with Hafsa bint `Umar until Hudhayfa b. Al-Yaman came to `Uthman.

62. His hadith from that is in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 66, chap. 3, pt. 6, p.99) from Ibn Shihab az-Zuhri from Anas b. Malik.

He had raided with the people of Syria in the conquest of Armenia and in Azerbaijan with the people of Iraq. Mudhayfa told him about their disagreement about the recitation. Hudhayfa said to `Uthman, "Amir al-Mu'minin, save this community before they disagree about the Book as the jews and christians disagree!" So `Uthman sent a messenger to Hafsa, "Send us the pages of the Qur'an and we will make copies from them. Then we will return them." Hafsa sent them to `Uthman. Then he commanded Zayd b. Thabit., Abdullah b. Az-Zubayr, Sa'id b. Al-`As, and `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Al-Harith b. Hisham and they copied out copies of the Qur'an.

63. The two great men of Islam, Abu Bakr and `Umar were concerned about it. Their brother and in-law Dhu'n-Nurayn `Uthman completed it by gathering the Qur'an and making it firm and making its text one. Through that, they gave the greatest blessing to the muslims. By it, Allah fulfilled His promise when He said, "We sent down the remembrance and We preserved it." After these three shaykhs, the khalifate was given to the Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali and he carried on their work and confirmed the mushaf of `Uthman both in its start and recitation in all of the cities under his rule. There is a consensus from the first muslims that what Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Uthman established was their greatest good deed. One of the `ulama' of the Shi'a relayed this consensus from the tongue of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali b. Abi Talib. It has come in the book of the History of the Qur'an by Abu `Abdullah az-Zanjani (p. 46) that `Ali b. Musa, known as Ibn Ta'us (589-664), who is one of their `ulama', transmitted in his book, 'The Happiness of the Happy', that Ash-Shahrastani said in the preface of his tafsir from Suwayd b. `Alqama, "I heard `Ali b. Abi Talib, peace be upon him, say, 'Oh people! Allah! Allah! Beware of excess in the affair of `Uthman and your statement regarding burning the copies of the Qur'an. By Allah, he only burned them with permission from the assembly of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.' We agreed. He said, 'What do you say about this recitation about which

people disagree? One man meets another man and says, "My recitation is better than your recitation?" This leads to kufr.' We said, 'What is your opinion then?' He said, 'I want people to agree on one copy. If you disagree today, those after you will have a worse disagreement.' We said, 'What you think is good.'" Something there is no doubt about is that the aggressors themselves in the khalifate of `Ali, may Allah be pleased with him, used to recite the mushaf of `Uthman about which the Companions had agreed and `Ali was among them. But some followers in the succeeding generations have disgraced themselves by their idiocy and their rejection like Shaytan at-Taq, Muhammad b. Ja`far ar-Rafidi according to what Imam Ibn Hazm related in 'The Fisal' (4:181) from al-Jahiz. He said, "Abu Ishaq Ibrahim an-Nizam and Bishr b. Khalid informed them that they said to Muhammad b. Ja`far ar-Rafidi, known as Shaytan at-Taq, 'Woe to you! Aren't you shamed before Allah to say in your book on the Imamate: "Allah ta'ala did not say at all in the Qur'an, "The second of two when they were in the Case when he said to his companion, 'Do not be sad, Allah is with us.'"' They said, 'By Allah, Shaytan at-Taq laughed a long time until it was as if we were the ones who had wronged him.'" This Shaytan at-Taq was the greatest of the propagandists of the Shi'a for the two Imams, Zayd and his nephew Ja`far as-Sadiq. He is the one who originated the lie that the Imamate is covenanted to certain individuals. No one had ever said that before this Shaytan at-Taq. Imam Zayd objected to him saying that in the assembly of Ja`far.

The claim of the Rafidites is to change the Qur'an when `Ali clearly stated that the Companions agreed on what `Uthman had undertaken. Abundant material has gone to the Christian missionaries who have used it as evidence. Ibn Hazm said to them in 'The Fisal' (2:78), "The Rafidites are not muslims. They are a group who follow the course of the jews and the christians in lying and rejection." I said: The last of them who disgraced himself by this business and disgraced the Shi'a by it was Husayn b. Muhammad Taqi an-Nuri at-Tabarasi in his book about an assembly ascribed to the Amir al-Mu'minin, `Ali, which was published in an-Najaf in 1292 and published in Iran in 1298. I have a copy of it. Part of the nature of factionalism, partisanship and bias is that it kills the intellects of people who ascribe to it and their character.

`Uthman said to the group of the three Qurayshis, "When you and Zayd b. Thabit disagree about some part of the Qur'an, write it in the tongue of Quraysh. It was sent down in their tongue." So they did that.

When they had copied the pages and made copies of the Qur'an, `Uthman returned the pages to Hafsa and sent a copy of their copy to every area and commanded that every page and copy of any other Qur'an should be burned.

Ibn Shihab said....

64. In what Iman al-Bukhari related from him in his 'Sahih' (book 56, chap. 12, pt. 3, pp.

205-206, book 64, chap. 17, pt. 5, p. 31, sura 9, chap. 20 and sura 33, chap. 3, book 66, chaps. 3 & 4, book 93, chap. 97 and book 87, chap. 22.)

"Kharija b. Zayd informed me that he heard Zayd b. Thabit say, "One ayat of the sura of 'The Clans (al-Ahzab) was missing when we copied out the mushaf which I had heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, recite. We looked for it and found it with Khuzayma Al-Ansari, 'There are men from the believers who are true to the contract which Allah took from them.' We attached it to its sura in the copy of the Qur'an. "

As for what is related that he burned them or ripped them (with Ha' or Kha') both are possible since there would have been corruption in letting them remain, or that there was something in them that was not part of the Qur'an or something abrogated from it, or it was not in the proper order. All the Companions submitted to that, although it is related that Ibn Mas'ud spoke in Kufa and said, "Allah said, 'Whoever defrauds will bring what he has defrauded on the day of rising.' I take away your copies of the Qur'an. Whoever of you is able to take away his copy of the Qur'an should do it." Ibn Mas'ud meant that his mushaf would be taken from him and he should confirm what he knew in it. When that was not done for him, he said what he said. Therefore `Uthman forced him to remove his copy of the Qur'an and erase its marks so Ibn Mas'ud never had a firm recitation. Allah helped `Uthman and the truth by removing it from the earth (i.e. Ibn Mas'ud's version).

65, `Abdullah b. Mas'ud was one of the great `ulama' of the Companions and one of those who were the most excellent in the recitation of the Book of Allah. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, once praised the good recitation of the Qur'an of Ibn Mas'ud . Abu Bakr and `Umar raced to convey the good news of this prophetic praise (Look at 'The Musnad' of Ahmad 1:25-26, first edition, no. 175, second edition). Ibn Mas'ud used to write down what was revealed in the Qur'an in his copy whenever the revelation of ayats of it reached him. He differs in the order of these ayats from the `Uthman copies which were based on the last presentation to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, according to the ijtihaad of the Companions entrusted with gathering it. It is possible that in his copy, Ibn Mas'ud missed some of the ayats from other reciters of the Qur'an which Zayd b. Thabit and his colleagues had searched out. In addition to that, Ibn Mas'ud was dominated by the dialect of his people, Hudhayl. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, allowed people like Ibn Mas'ud recite in their own dialects, but it was not for Ibn Mas'ud to compel the community in his time and times after him to use his particular dialect. Part of the blessing was to unify the community in the recitation of the Book of its Lord in the Mudhari dialect which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, spoke.

4. As for the Hima (a place of pasture and water forbidden to the public), it already existed.

66. When a noble man in the time of Jahiliyya settled on a piece of land he had a dog bark, and then made the area (within the bark of the dog) exclusive for his own horses, camels and beasts, and no one else could share it. When Islam came, the Prophet, may Allah bless him

and grant him peace, said, "There is no hima except for Allah and His Messenger." Al-Bukhari related it from the hadith of as-Su`ab b. Jathama in 'The Book of Sharecropping' (book 42, chap. 11) and 'The Book of Jihad' (book 56, chap. 146) in his 'Sahih'. Imam Ahmad related it in his 'Musnad' (4:71 & 73, first edition) from the hadith of as-Su`ab b. Jathama as well. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, made a hima at a place called an-Naqi'. This refers to Naqi' al-Khadmat, as in 'The Musnad' of Imam Ahmad (2:91, 155 & 157, first edition, no. 565, 6438 & 6464, second edition) from the hadith of Abu `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Umar al-`Umari from Nafi' from Ibn `Umar that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, made an-Naqi' a hima for horses. Hammad b. Khalid, the transmitter of this hadith from `Abdullah b. `Umar al-`Umari said, "Oh `Abdu'r-Rahman, his horses?" He said, "The horses of the muslims." (i.e. Those kept for jihad or owned by the Treasury). This an-Naqi' is about 20 parsangs from Madina and its area was one mile by eight as is recorded in 'The Muwatta' of Malik in the riwaya of Ibn Wahb. It is known that this continued during the khalifate of Abu Bakr the same as in the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, especially as there was more need of horses and camels for jihad than before. In the time of `Umar, the hima was widened and it included Sarf and ar-Rabadha. `Umar put an agent in charge of the hima who was a client of his called Hani'. In 'The Book of Jihad' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 56, chap. 180) from the hadith of Zayd b. Aslam from his father is the text of the instruction of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar to his agent who was in charge of the hima to bar the animals of the wealthy like `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf and `Uthman b. `Affan but to be indulgent with the one with sheep and the one whose land had been reaped so that their animals would not be destroyed. As `Umar extended the hima to more than what it was in the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and Abu Bakr, due to the increase of the beasts of the Treasury in his time, so `Uthman expanded it because of the expansion of the state and the increase in conquests. That which the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, permitted for the beasts of the Treasury and which Abu Bakr and `Umar continued was permitted for the Treasury in the time of `Uthman. Any objection to it is an objection to a matter which is included in the Islamic Shari'a. When `Uthman replied to the question about the hima when he defended himself before the assembly of the Companions, he announced that those who were in charge of the hima limited it to the zakat animals of the muslims in order to protect them so that there would not be any conflict with other animals next to it. They did not deny nor push anyone away from it. He mentioned about himself that before he was appointed khalif, he had the greatest number of camels and sheep of the arabs. Then that time passed and he did not have more than two camels for his Hajj. He asked those of the Companions who knew that, "Is that not the case?" They replied, "Oh Allah, yes."

It is said that `Uthman added to it due to the increase in the herds. If the origin of its permission is that need, then it is permitted to increase its size when the need increases.

5. As for his exiling Abu Dharr to Ar-Rabadha, he did not do it.

67. Abu Dharr chose to retire to Ar-Rabadha and `Uthman agreed with him about it as will be

seen. He honoured him and gave provisions which would give him ease.

Abu Dharr was an ascetic. He used to scold the governors of `Uthman and he recited to them, "Those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of Allah, give them the good news of a painful punishment" (9:34) He saw them increasing the amount of mounts and clothes and he objected to them doing that and wanted to divide up everything in their possession that was not a necessity. Ibn `Umar and other Companions said. "That on which zakat has been paid is not treasure."

68. Look at the clarification of Fiqh and the details of the Shari`a on this question in ‘The Path of the Sunna’ by Ibn Taymiyya (3:198-199).

In Syria, some words passed between Abu Dharr and Mu`awiya.

69. At-Tabari (5:66) reported and gave a lot of Islamic sources that when Ibn as-Sawda’ (‘Abdullah b. Saba’) came to Syria, he met Abu Dharr. He said, "Abu Dharr, aren’t you amazed at Mu`awiya saying, "The property is the property of Allah. Doesn’t everything belong to Allah? As if he means to cut it off from the muslims and erase the name of the muslims." Abu Dharr therefore came to him and said, "What leads you to call the property of the muslims the ‘property of Allah’?" Mu`awiya said, "May Allah have mercy on you Abu Dharr! Are we not the slave of Allah and is not all property His property, and all creation His creation, and all business His business?" Abu Dharr said, "Do not say that." Mu`awiya said, "I do not say that it does not belong to Allah, but I will say, ‘The property of the muslims.'" Ibn as-Sawda’ (‘Abdullah b. Saba’) came to Abu`d-Darda’ and Abu`d-Darda’ said to him, "Who are you? By Allah, I think that you are a jew." Ibn Saba’ came to `Abdullah b. as-Samit and busied himself with him. `Abdullah brought him to Mu`awiya and said, "By Allah, this is the one who sent Abu Dharr to you!"

Abu Dharr went to Madina and people gathered around him. He began to act in that way. `Uthman said to him, "If you were to retire ..." meaning that you have a school which is not conducive to mixing with people. Mixing with people has preconditions and retirement has preconditions as well. Whoever is on the path of Abu Dharr has a state which demands that he should be on his own or mix with people allowing everyone their state providing it is not haram in the Shari`a. Therefore Abu Dharr went out to Ar-Rabadha as an excellent man of zuhd and he left excellent men behind him. All of them had good, blessing and excellence. The state of Abu Dharr was better but it is not possible for everyone. If they had based themselves on it, they would have been destroyed.

70. That which I think, after pursuing the texts of the Shari`a about property, and seeing how the texts were applied during the lifetime of the Salaf and how they acted, is that the muslim can own property for himself and his kin which will be enough for him and them, according to what is customary for people like him and them among the people of integrity, contentment and the deen. For anything beyond that, he must pay the zakat demanded by the Shari`a, directly according to his own ijtihaad if he does not pay it to the Islamic government

acting by the rules of the Shari`a. After paying zakat for it, the owner of the property remains in a state of trial from Allah to see if he will deal with it in a way pleasing to Allah and which increases the muslims in strength, happiness and might. If he is a merchant, it is by the path of trade, or if he is a farmer, it is by the ways of agriculture. If he is one with a craft, it is by the way of craft. In the areas where Islam was established, it benefited from the wealth of the rich Companions in help, aid and strength. When the commerce of the muslim merchant enables the muslims to dispense with the commerce of their enemies, it is considered to be a strength for them, according to the extent that one who has it, spends with this intention. It is the same with the craft of the muslim craftsman and the agriculture of the muslim farmer. The intention in these matters is a big thing. Its measure is by action when there is need for it. In general, the muslim can be rich without limit, provided that it is part of what he can properly dispose of, and that he takes enough from it according to what is commonly considered to be adequate, and always tries to free himself from servitude and yielding to luxuries. After he has paid the zakat on what he owns, what is more than his needs is like the trust of Allah in his possession. He does with it whatever will increase the muslims in wealth, strength, ease, might and happiness.

Glory be to the one who ordered the ranks!

It is strange that he is criticised for something which `Umar did. It is related that `Umar b. al-Khattab, may Allah be pleased with him, confined Ibn Mas`ud and some of the Companions for a year in Madina before he was martyred. Then `Uthman released them. He had them confined because the people had too many hadith from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

71. In 'The Book of the Judgments' in 'The Roots of the Judgments' by Ibn Hazm (2:139) is the mursal report which Ibn Shu`ba related from Sa`d b. Ibrahim b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf from his father (Ibrahim b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf) who said, "'Umar said to Ibn Mas`ud, Abu'd-Darda' and Abu Dharr, 'This hadith is not from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.'" He said, "I believe that he did not let them leave Madina until he died." Ibn Hazm noted that this report is mursal and it is not permitted to use it as a proof. Shaykh Ahmad Shakir added to it that al-Bayhaqi agreed with Ibn Hazm that Ibrahim b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf (d. 65 or 66 when he was 75 years old) did not take directly from `Umar. I do not know whether Ibn al-`Arabi relied on this mursal report in this passage, or on another report which we have not read."

Some words passed between Abu Dharr and Mu`awiya. Abu Dharr used words which were not said in the time of `Umar. Mu`awiya relayed that to `Uthman. He feared that sedition would arise among the common people. Abu Dharr used to encourage them to take on zuhd and other things which not everyone can bear. They are only for a few. `Uthman wrote to him, as we have already said, to come to Madina. When he came, people gathered to him. He said to `Uthman, "I want to go to Ar-Rabdhah." `Uthman told him, "Do it," so he retired. That alone was suitable for him due to the way he had taken.

72. Qadi Abu'l-Walid b. Khaldun mentioned in 'The Ibar' and the rest of 2:139 that Abu Dharr asked `Uthman for permission to leave Madina. He said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, commanded me to leave it when the buildings reached Sal'." `Uthman gave him permission and he settled in ar-Rabadha and built a mosque there. `Uthman allotted him a herd of camels and gave him two slaves and provided him with provision. He used to visit Madina. There were three miles between Madina and ar-Rabadha. Yaqut said, "It was one of the best houses on the road to Makka."

6. *Some words passed between Abu'd-Darda' and Mu`awiya. Abu'd-Darda' was an excellent man of zuhd, one of their qadis.*

73. i.e. In Damascus.

When he was harsh in the truth and left the path of `Umar with the people they could not bear it and they dismissed him,....

74. Mu`awiya himself tried to act in the path of `Umar as Ibn Kathir transmitted in 'The Beginning and the End' (8:131) from Muhammad b. Sa`d. He said, "Arim related to us from Hammad b. Yazid from Ma`mar from az-Zuhri that Mu`awiya acted for two years as `Umar acted and did not cut off any of it. He was far from that." Someone who has not looked into the life of peoples and their politics supposes that the ruler can do whatever he likes wherever he is. This is an error. The environment has an effect on the ruler and the organisations of the ruler more than the effect that the ruler and the organisations of the ruler have on the environment. This is one of the meanings of the words of Allah, the Mighty, the Majestic, "Allah will not change a people until they change themselves."

....so he went to Madina.

All of these are benefits which do not diminish the deed. They do not affect the position of any of the muslims by a state. Abu'd-Darda' and Abu Dharr were free from fault. `Uthman was completely and utterly innocent and had more integrity. If someone else relates that he was exiled and told of a cause for it, that is entirely false.

7. *As for returning to Al-Hakam, it is not true.*

75. i.e. The claim of the attackers of `Uthman was not true when they said that `Uthman opposed what the Shari`a demanded in that respect.

Our `ulama' said in answer to it, "When the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, gave him permission for it, `Uthman spoke to Abu Bakr and `Umar and they said, 'If there is a martyr with you, we will return him.' When he was appointed, he made the judgment according to his knowledge to bring him back. `Uthman would not bring back any one sent away by the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, even if it had been his own father, nor would he have overturned his judgment.

76. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:196), "Many of the people of knowledge

attacked his exile (i.e. Al-Hakam's exile by the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace) and said that he went by his own choice. The story of the exile of al-Hakam is not in the Sahih volumes, nor does it have any isnad by which the affair is known." Then he said, "The Makkans who did not become muslim until the conquest of Madina did not live in Madina. His banishment was that he banished him from Makka, not from Madina. If he had exiled him from Madina, he would have sent him to Makka. Many of the people of knowledge attacked his exile as has already been stated and then said that he went by his own choice. When the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, disciplined a man by exile, he did not demand that he remain in exile forever. This is not known for any wrong action. The Shari`a does not mention a wrong action which leaves the one who does it forever in exile. `Uthman interceded for `Abdullah b. Sa`d b. Abi Sarh and he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, accepted his intercession for him and took his homage. How could he not accept his intercession for al-Hakam then? They related that `Uthman asked him to return him and he gave him permission. We know that his wrong action was less than the wrong action of `Abdullah b. Sa`d b. Abi Sarh. The story of `Abdullah is confirmed and known by isnads. As for the story of al-Hakam, it is mentioned by mursal. The historians who fabricated many lies mentioned it in what they related. There is no firm transmission here demanding one to detract from someone inferior to `Uthman. The virtues of `Uthman are known as well as the love of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, his praise of him, his singling him out for his two daughters and his testifying that he would have the Garden and he sent him to Makka and took the oath from him. The Companions advanced him to the Khalifate. `Umar and others testified that the Messenger of Allah bless him and grant him peace, died while he was pleased with him. Things like this prove definitively that he was one of the great awliya' of Allah, the fearfully aware with whom Allah is pleased and who are pleased with Him. This is not rejected because of a transmission whose isnad is not firm and the manner of whose occurrence is not known. (Look also at 3:235-236 of 'The Path of the Sunna').

Imam Abu Muhammad b. Hazm transmitted in the book, 'The Imamate and the Rivalry', included in part 4 of his book 'al-Fisal' (p.154), the words of the one who gives `Uthman a proof against the one who objected to him doing that. The exile of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not have a necessary limit, nor is there anything in the Shari`a to make it last forever. The punishment is for a wrong action which deserved exile but the door of repentance is open. If the perpetrator repents, that punishment falls from him. There is no disagreement about that among any of the people of Islam. The whole earth becomes permitted. The mujtahid of the Zaydis, Sayyid Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Wazir al-Yamani (d. 840) quoted in his book, 'The Smiling Meadows in the Defence of the Sunna of Abu'l-Qasim' (1:141-142), the words of al-Hakam al-Muhsin b. Kirama al-Mu'tazili al-Mutashayyi' from his book, 'The Free Springs', that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, gave `Uthman permission for that. Ibn al-Wasir said, "The Mu'tazilites and the Shi'a from the Zaydis must accept this hadith and not object to `Uthman doing that because the opinion of the transmitter of the hadith was famous for reliability,

knowledge and sound belief." Then al-Wazir spoke extensively on this subject with proofs and evidence filling three pages in defence of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman in his recalling al-Hakam. These proofs are from one of the Imams of the Zaydis and their mujtahids after he had transmitted that hadith from the Shi'ite Mu'tazilite Imam. It had its particular proofs which I heard after that from one of the Imams of the people of the sunna, the Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyya and Qadi Ibn al-`Arabi and from the Imam of the people of the outward, Abu Muhammad b. Hazm.

8. As for abandoning the shortening of the prayer, it is ijtiḥad because he heard that some people were tempted by the shortening and did it in their homes. He thought that the sunna might lead to dropping the obligatory. Therefore he left it fearing that it would be the cause of that.

77. That was in Mina in the Hajj Eid in 29. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf censured `Uthman for completing the prayer while they were in Mina. (`Uthman made an excuse that some of those who were among the hajjis included people from the Yemen and coarse people who had said the previous year, "The prayer for the one at home is two rak`ats. This is your Imam, `Uthman, and he prays two rak`ats."). Then `Uthman said to `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf, "I have taken family in Makka (i.e. that he had entered under the judgment of the resident, not the traveller.) I think that I should pray four rak`ats out of fear that I have for the people." Then `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf left `Uthman and met `Abdullah b. Mas`ud and spoke to him about that. Ibn Mas`ud said, "Dispute is evil. It has reached me that he prayed four, so I pray four with my companions." `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf said, "It reached me that he prayed four, and I prayed two with my companions. Now, it will be by what you have fabricated." He means today we pray four with him. (at-Tabari 5:57-58)

However, a group of the `ulama' said, "The traveller can choose between shortening and doing it in full.

78. How excellent is what Qadi Abu Bakr said about `Uthman, may Allah be pleased with him, that he left off shortening in the prayer in the journey and did ijtiḥad. In the hadith, "When the judge strives and is right, he has two rewards. If he errs, he has one reward;" `Uthman erred in this instance. The transmissions about that are clear. It is better to follow the truth. In spite of that, he is rewarded for his ijtiḥad.

The proof of his error lies in the words of Ibn `Umar, may Allah be pleased with him, "I kept the company of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and he did not add more than two rak`ats to the travel prayer." Abu Bakr, `Uthman and `Umar were like that. Al-Bukhari and Muslim, may Allah have mercy on them, related it.

Imam ash-Shawkani said, "His words, 'He did not do more than two raka`ats in the travel prayer' contains the fact that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, kept to the shortened prayer and did not pray in full."

The hadith of `A'isha is agreed upon, "The prayer demands two rak`ats and the travel prayer is confirmed and the prayer at home is completed."

There is a strong proof in these two hadith that it is obligatory to shorten it and not just recommended as some have claimed.

`Ali, `Umar and most of the `ulama' of the Salaf and the fuqaha' of the community and `Umar b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz, Qatada, al-Hasan and the Hanafites believed that it was obligatory to shorten the prayer. Hammad b. Sulayman said, "The one who prays four in the journey must repeat it. Malik said, "He repeats it as long as he is still in its time."

Those who said that shortening was recommended, and not obligatory, have no definite proof and the hadiths which they used as evidence are not sound. The one who wants to verify that should refer to the book, 'Obtaining the Desires' by ash-Shawkani (3:213).

A group of the Companions objected to `Uthman when he completed the prayer at Mina. They gave it various interpretations. Ibn al-Qayyim said, "He thought it good since he had family at Mina." When the traveller stays in a place and marries in it or has a wife, he does the full prayer." Ahmad related that `Uthman said, "Oh people, when I came, I had family here. I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say, 'When a man marries in a land, he should pray the prayer of the one who resides in it.' Al-Bayhaqi faults this hadith since it is cut off and `Ikrima b. Ibrahim is in its isnad. It is weak as al-Bayhaqi said. He said in 'The Fath', "This hadith is not sound because it is cut off and one of its transmitters is one who is not used as a proof." Similarly, what is ascribed to `Uthman is not sound when it is said that he, may Allah be pleased with him, left off shortening fearing that some of the bedouins would think that the prayer was two rak`ats for the one at home.

Then it is sound that `A'isha, may Allah be pleased with her, interpreted the same as `Uthman, may Allah be pleased with him, interpreted. He used to pray four in the journey and he agreed with them as preceded. We said about `Uthman that whoever strives and errs as the rightly-guided khalif erred. Complete protection only belongs to the Prophets.

The Companions disagreed about that.

79. Muhammad b. Yahya al-Ash`ari al-Maliki, known as Ibn Bakr (674-741), quoted in his book, 'The Preface and Clarification about the Murder of the Martyr `Uthman', which is one of the publications of the Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya (no. 23, History) that he related from a group of the Companions that the prayer was done in full on a journey. They included `A'isha, Salman and fourteen Companions. In the chapters of shortening from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 18, chap. 5, pt. 2, p. 36) is the hadith of az-Zuhri from `Urwa b. az-Zubayr from `A'isha that she said, "The prayer first made obligatory was two rak`ats, so that travel prayer is confirmed and the prayer of the one in residence is completed." Az-Zuhri said, "I said to `Urwa, 'Why did `A'isha complete it then?' He said, 'She interpreted the same of `Uthman interpreted.'" In the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (94:4) from `Abbad b. `Abdullah b. az-

Zubayr, he said, "When Mu`awiya came to us on Hajj, we went with him to Makka. He prayed Dhuhr with two rak`ats with us. Then he went to Dar an-Nadwa. On the other hand `Uthman would complete the prayer when he came to Makka and prayed Dhuhr, `Asr and `Isha' there with four rak`ats each. When he went to Mina and `Arafat, he shortened the prayer. When he finished Hajj and stayed at Mina, he did the full prayer until he left Makka. When Mu`awiya prayed Dhuhr with us with two rak`ats, Marwan and `Umar b. `Uthman went to him and said, 'No one ever disgraced the son of your uncle with worse than that with which you disgraced him.' He said to them, 'What is that?' They told him, 'Don't you know that he completed the prayer in Makka?' He mentioned to them that he had prayed them with the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, Abu Bakr and `Umar. They said, 'Your did it in full.'" It is clear that Mu`awiya thought that shortening the prayer was allowed and that the traveller could choose. He prayed `Asr with four.

9. As for Mu`awiya, `Umar appointed him. He gathered all of Syria for him and `Uthman confirmed him. Indeed, Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, may Allah be pleased with him, appointed him because he had appointed his brother Yazid. Yazid delegated him, so `Umar confirmed him since he was connected to the government of Abu Bakr because the ruler had appointed him. `Uthman was joined to `Umar and he confirmed him. Look at this chain how reliable it is.

80. Here in the text it is the word, "and determined" and the clear text of another word. The meaning is not affected by dropping them.

No one will ever bring the like of it after it.

81. The state of Islam in the Khalifate of Abu Bakr and `Umar reached its pinnacle in might. Examples were made of the human success and happiness of that society because by the light of Allah, the Mighty, the Exalted, Abu Bakr and `Umar uncovered the depths of character in its people and the elements of manliness in the men. The people appointed them to lead them and provided them with the keys of mastery and entrusted them with the community of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. These men knew that they were answerable for that before Allah, the Mighty, the Exalted. You saw in the footnotes that Yazid b. Abi Safyan and his brother Mu`awiya were among the men of the state of Abu Bakr as-Siddiq whom he selected to bear the burdens of the community in their wars and peace. He did it very well indeed. When Yazid was appointed to lead one of the armies, Abu Bakr went out walking with him to see him off (at-Tabari 4:30). Mu`awiya was mentioned in the history after his brother Yazid because he was younger than him, not because he was less than him in the perfection of the qualities of leadership and mastery. It is accepted that Mu`awiya was one of the men of the government of Abu Bakr and `Umar. He was one of those whom the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, employed and from whom he sought help. He called him to do that once when Mu`awiya was eating and he was insistent in calling him and sent to him time after time to make him hurry to come to him. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, appointed Mu`awiya to something of his business before Abu Bakr and `Umar had appointed him. He also appointed Yazid b. Abi Sufyan, as in

‘The Opening of the Lands’ by al-Baladhari (p.48, published in Egypt in 1350). Those who are filled with hate and rancour for the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, especially the Banu Umayya among them, cannot fail to acknowledge the fact that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, appointed Mu`awiya to be his scribe. He said that he used to write for him, but that he did not write down the revelation. They say this by a ‘revelation’ which has been revealed to them from Shaytan. They have no historical text in their possession or proof of Shari`a to which they refer. They make a distinction between matters for which they have no proof to make that distinction. If the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had made a distinction between his scribes in a certain matter rather than other matters, that would have been given by multiples transmissions from him and the transmitters would have transmitted it, as has occurred with things less important than this. One of the young muslims of whom I have a good opinion once asked me, "What do you say about Mu`awiya?" I said to him, "Who am I that I should be asked about one of the great ones of this community and a Companion who was one of the best Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace? He was one of the lights of Islam. But this lamp shone at the side of four suns which filled the world with their lights. Their lights overcame his light."

Ibn Kathir said in ‘The Beginning and the End’ (8:133) from al-Layth b. Sa`d (the Imam, `alim and leader of Egypt who died in 175.) from Bukayr (who was Ibn `Abdullah al-Ashajj al-Madini al-Misri, who died in 127 A.H., and Imam an-Nasa’i said that he is reliable) from Busr b. Sa`id al-Madini (died 100 A.H.) and Ibn Ma’in said that he is reliable and al-Layth b. Sa`d said that he was one of the people of `Ibada and those who devoted themselves and one of the people of asceticism and scrupulousness in this world) that Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas (one of the ten promised the Garden) said, "I did not see anyone who fulfilled a right after `Uthman more than the one with the door," i.e. Mu`awiya. Ibn Kathir also related (8:135) from `Abdu'r-Razzaq b. Humam as-San`ani, one of the notable Imams and people who knew the Qur'an by heart (he was ascribed to the Shi`a) from Ma`mar b. Rashid, Abu `Urwa al-Basri, then al-Yamani, who was one of the notables from Humam b. Munabbih as-San`ani (who was reliable). He said, "I heard Ibn `Abbas say. "I have not seen a man more suited to rulership than Mu`awiya." Is there a man who is the most suited of people to rulership other than one who is just, wise, and forbearing and strong in defence of his kingdom and one who seeks help from Allah to spread the call of Allah in other domains and to undertake the trust in the community over which Allah has entrusted him? Should `Uthman be censured for appointing the most suitable of people to rule? What an extraordinary thing. How can `Uthman be censured for appointing him when `Umar appointed him before him and he was appointed by Abu Bakr before `Umar? He was also appointed to one of the offices by the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, before the khalifate went to Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Uthman.

There is no doubt that the mind which Shaytan plays with and seduces by whisperings like this is an unsound mind. It perverts people's intellects and their logic before it perverts their

deen and history for them. It is obligatory for those who love the truth and good to avoid all who think like this, as they would avoid the leper. Imam at-Tirmidhi related from Abu Idris al-Khawlani, one of the great `ulama' of the Tabi'un and the most knowledgeable of the people of Syria after Abu'd-Darda', that when `Umar b. al-Khattab dismissed `Umayr b. Sa'd al-Ansari al-Awsi from Hums and appointed Mu`awiya people said, "He has dismissed `Umayr and appointed Mu`awiya." (al-Baghawi said in 'The Collection of the Companions', "`Umayr used to be called 'the unique'") Ibn Sirin said that `Umar used to call him that due to his admiration for him. `Umayr was one of the people of zuhd. `Umar said, "Do not mention Mu`awiya with anything but good. I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say, 'Oh Allah, guide him.'" It is related that the person who gave this testimony for Mu`awiya was the Amir al-Mu'minin, Umar. He was the one who testified to it for him and he related the supplication of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, for Mu`awiya that Allah should guide him. That is a very big thing because of the greatness of `Umar's position. If the one who testified to that was `Umayr b. Sa'd al-Ansari and he was dismissed in favour of Mu`awiya from his appointment over Hums, that still does not detract from its greatness if `Umar himself gave that testimony for Mu`awiya.

You know that `Umayr was one of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and that he was one of the ascetics of the Ansar. Ibn Taymiyya said in the Path of the Sunna (3:189), "The conduct of Mu`awiya with his people was one of the best conducts ever seen in a ruler. His people loved him. It is confirmed in the 'Sahih' volumes that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'The best of your Imams are those whom you love and who love you. You pray for them and they pray for you. The worst of your Imams are those whom you hate and who hate you. You curse them and they curse you.'" There is no room here for more than this. We will elaborate the real form of Mu`awiya when his khalifate is mentioned so that you know to what extent we have been deceived by the lies of the enemies of the first generations of Islam. This is a portion from a sound hadith as you will see later.

10. As for `Abdullah b. `Amir b. Kurayz, he appointed him, as he said, because he was noble in his maternal and paternal aunts.

82. He is Abu Shamsi of parentage, Hashimi by relationship through his maternal aunt, the mother of his father was Arwa bint Kurayz. Her mother was al-Bayda` by `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hasim, the paternal aunt of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He said, "From the Banu Shams. This one is more like us than you." Then he spat in his mouth and he swallowed it. He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "I hope that he will be a water-giver." He did not cultivate any land without water appearing in it. He grew up generous, noble, brave, blessed by nature with many virtues. He conquered all of Khorasan, the ends of Persia, Sijistan and Kerman until he reached the districts of Ghazna. He put an end to Yazdegerd b. Shariyar, the last of the Persian kings. The Iranians believe that the chain of their kings appeared with their Adam whom they call Jiumart. The kingdom of his sons

continued in a straight line until the last of them died by the force of Islam in the khalifate of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman, by the jihad of this man who was Abshami by parentage, Hashimi by maternal aunt, `Abdullah b. `Amir b. Kurayz. It is a fire in the hearts of the people of the Magian sect against Islam and against `Uthman and Ibn Kurayz. They had rancour towards them and fought with them up until the present day with the weapons of lies, hate and intrigue. That will continue up until the Day of Rising. Were not those who confirmed Islam among those to whom Iran gave birth in the days when it was Shafi'ite in madhhab, when the `ulama' of the Muhammadan sunna emerged from it? They included great Imams, hadith scholars and fuqaha'. They stripped their hearts of any rancour they had towards those who believed and struggled with their property and themselves until Allah opened the lands at their hands. He guided the community because of them. The muslims love and respect them for their merits. We do not claim partisanship for anyone after the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and we remove error from every Companion or Tabi' or those who followed them by thinking the best of them.

As for those who filled this world with mountains of good deeds, some are blind to them and make slander in order to extract from it something they can use to cast blame. If they do not find it, they will invent and lie. Part of the nobility of the muslim to himself is that he lifts himself above listening to the likes of those men and is not deceived by them. You have enough evidence in the victory of `Abdullah b. `Amir b. Kurayz which reached the furthest east and his demolition of the end of the period of the Magian Empire. There is also documentation of the large quantity of the good deeds he performed. Ibn Kathir said in 'The Beginning and the End' (8:88), "He was the first to make cisterns at `Arafat for the hajjis to the House of Allah and to make spring water flow to it." Ibn Taymiyya said about him in 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:189-190), "He is known for good deeds and the love people had for him in their hearts and that cannot be ignored." If men like them had been among the ancestors of the English and the French, their greatness would remain in the books of study, culture and education. Our sciences have been decimated and we tend to transmit that in our scholarly books so that our generation believes in the greatness of the forbears of the colonialists. As for the greatness of our own forbears, Shaytan has overpowered it by means of false hearts which overflow with evil. Many of us confirm the lies and we proceed like a community without self-respect, asleep to the inheritance of a glory whose like humanity has never known.

11. As for his appointment of al-Walid b. `Uqba, people, according to their false intentions, hastened to do evil things before good things. The liars mentioned that he appointed him for the reason which was already stated. `Uthman said, "I did not appoint al-Walid because he is my brother,

83. He is his brother by his mother, Arwa bint Kurayz. Her mother was al-Bayda` bint `Abdu'l-Muttalib b. Hashim.

I appointed him because he is the son of Umm Hakim al-Bayda`, the aunt of the Messenger of

Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and the twin of his father. This will be clarified, Allah willing.

84. Any one who has no recognition of the beginning of this community supposes that the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman brought al-Walid b. `Uqba from the gutter and appointed him over Kufa. As for those whom Allah has blessed with the blessing of intimacy with the states of that age and its people, they know that the first Islamic state from the time of the khalifate of Abu Bakr seized on this energetic, resolute youth of pleasing character and truthful iman. His gifts were employed in the way of Allah until Abu Bakr died. The first office that he held in the khalifate of Abu Bakr was that he was entrusted with the secret messages of war which passed between the Khalif and his general, Khalid b. al-Walid in the battle of al-Madhar with the Persians in 12 A.H. (at-Tabari 4:7). Then he sent him to help his general `Iyad b. Ghanam al-Fihri (at-Tabari 4:22). In 13 A.H., al-Walid was put in charge of the zakat of Quda'a for Abu Bakr. Then when the Siddiq decided to conquer Syria, al-Walid was with him in the place of `Amr b. al-`As in respect, trust, and honour. He wrote to `Amr b. al-`As and to al-Walid b. `Uqba to call them to lead the jihad. Ibn al-`As took the banner of Islam towards Palestine and al-Walid b. `Uqba went as a general east of the Jordan (at-Tabari 4:29-30). Then we see al-Walid in 13AH as an Amir over the lands of the Banu Taghlib and the Arabs of the Peninsula (at-Tabari 4:155). He protected the mujahidin in the north of Syria so that no one could come at them from the rear. Rabi'a and Tanukh, both the muslims and kafirun among them were under his leadership. Al-Walid b. `Uqba made full use of the opportunity of his appointment and his generalship over this area, which was still full of christians from the arab tribes, because in addition to his military jihad and administrative office, he also called the people to Allah, using all of the means of wisdom and good warning to encourage the christians of Ayyad and Taghlib to become muslim like the rest of the Arabs. Ayyad fled from him to al-Andul which was still under the rule of the Byzantines. Al-Walid persuaded his khalif `Umar to write a letter threatening the Byzantine Emperor so he would return them to the borders of the Islamic state. Taghlib tried to revolt against al-Walid when he spread the Islamic call among their youths and children. He became very angry with a Mudari anger supported by Islamic belief. He uttered his famous words about them: "When I wrapped my head with a turban, Taghlib the daughter of Wa'il lured you from me".

These words reached `Umar and he was afraid that his general would fall upon the young men of the christians of Taghlib, so he took the reins from his hand at the moment when they were fighting with the muslims. Therefore he restrained the hand of al-Walid from them and moved him from their area. Al-Walid came into the khalifate of `Uthman with this excellent past. He appointed him over Kufa. He was one of its best governors as far as justice, compassion and charity are concerned. While he was in charge of Kufa, his armies went east in conquest and victory as we will mention later.

The appointment was by ijtiha.

85. At the end of this book, the author has a section in which he indicates the meanings and

realities which someone in command should take into consideration in his ijtiḥad when appointing governors or dismissing them. That has great fiqh and wondrous recognitions which the Imams and `Ulama' clarified in the details which they wrote about the Imamate and the politics of the state. This is found in their books about the roots of the deen. The tyrant of the Shi'a, the forger, al-Hasan b. al-Mutahhar al-Hulli claimed in his book, 'The Path of Generosity', that `Uthman appointed someone who was not suited to govern over the affairs of the muslims. Ibn Taymiyya answered him in 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:173-176) that `Ali, may Allah be pleased with him, appointed Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan and he appointed al-Ashtar an-Nakh'i and he appointed Muhammad b. Abi Bakr and others like them. The man of intellect knows beyond doubt that Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan was better than all of these. He said, "It is a wonder that the Shi'a object to `Uthman appointing his relatives from his father's side and his mother's side. He appointed `Abdullah b. `Abbas over Yemen. He appointed Qutham b. al-`Abbas over Makka and Ta'if. As for Madina, it is said that he appointed Sahl b. Hanif over it, and it is said that he appointed Thumana b. al-`Abbas. As for Basra, he appointed `Abdullah b. `Abbas over it. He appointed his foster son, Muhammad b. Abi Bakr over Egypt. He had raised him in his own house since he had married his mother after Abu Bakr had died when Muhammad was still a child. The Imamiyya claim that `Ali specified his sons for the khalifate, or for his son and his son and then his son and so on. It is known that the appointment of relatives was disliked. Then appointing a relative to be khalif is far worse than appointing someone to be governor.

When the speaker said that `Ali had a proof for what he did, we say to him, "The proof of `Uthman for what he did is greater." When he claims divine protection from wrong action and things like that for `Ali which stifles the tongues of attackers, ijtiḥad is claimed for `Uthman which also stifles the tongues of the attackers and which is more easily understood and conveyed. Then he said, "The Banu Umayya were employed by the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, while he was alive. After him, they were employed in the government by Abu Bakr and `Umar. It is not know that any of the tribes of Quraysh provided more governors for the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, than the Banu `Abdu Shams because they were numerous and they had nobility and leadership. In the beginning of Islam, the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, appointed `Attab b. Usyad b. Abi'l-`As over the noble city of Makka. He appointed Abu Sufyan b. Harb b. Umayya over Narjan. He appointed Sa'id b. al-`Asi over the zakat of the Banu Madh-haj and over Sana' and Yemen until the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died. He appointed `Uthman b. Sa'id b. al-`Asi over Tayma', Khaybar and Qura `Uryayna. He appointed Aban b. Sa'id b. al-`As over some of the captives and then he appointed him over Bahrayn. He continued in charge of it after al-`Ala' b. al-Hadrami (the ally of the Banu Umayya) until the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died. `Uthman said, "I only appoint from among those the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, appointed and from those like them and from their tribe." It was the same with Abu Bakr and `Umar after him. The evidence for the permission to appoint men from the Banu Umayya is a confirmed text from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant

him peace. That is clear to every man of intellect setting apart the claim that the khalifate is by stipulation for one particular individual from the Banu Hashim, because according to the consensus of the people of knowledge by transmission, this is a lie. It is confirmed by the agreement of the people of knowledge of transmission. (Look also at 'The Path of the Sunna', 3:236-237). Any one who considers the life of the governors of `Uthman and their jihad and their virtues will see that they are at the highest pinnacle of the men of government. He will feel no hesitation in confirming that they were among the architects of the strong basis of the administrative and military glory of Islam. They have the reward of the successful results in conquest and in spreading the call of Islam in what history considers to be one of the most extraordinary miracles ever witnessed.

`Umar dismissed Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas and advanced someone whose rank was less than his.

86. That was in 21 A.H. Those who were appointed after Sa`d were `Abdullah b. `Abdullah b. `Utaban (and in his time the battle of Nahawand occurred), then Ziyad b. Hanzala (he asked to be retired and was dismissed.) and after them `Ammar b. Yasir was appointed. (at-Tabari 4:246 and before it.)

12. As for the statement about Marwan and al-Walid, it is an attack on them, and their judgment that they were deviant (fasiq) is in fact deviation on their part. Marwan was a just man, one of the great ones of the community in the opinion of the Companions, the Tabi`un, and the fuqaha' of the muslims. As for the Companions, Sahl b. Sa`d as-Sa`idi related from him.

87. Its riwaya from him is in the Sahih of al-Bukhari and elsewhere.

As for the Tabi`un, they are the same age as him, although he surpassed them by having the name of "Companion" according to one of the two statements.

88. In the forefront of those who related from him among the great Tabi`un was Zayn al-`Abidin `Ali b. al-Husayn as-Sibt. Ibn Taymiyya (in 'The Path of the Sunna', 2:123) and Ibn Hajar in 'The Isaba' quoted that. You will see its details in 'The Greater Tabaqat of the Shari'is' by as-Subki in the biography of the linguist, Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Ahmad b. al-Azhar, the author of 'The Tadh-hib al-Lugha' (282-370). Among those whom Ibn Hajar quoted in the riwaya from Marwan were: Sa`id b. al-Musayyib, the head of the `ulama' of the Tabi`un, his brothers from among the seven fuqaha', Abu Bakr b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham al-Makhzumi, `Ubaydullah b. `Abdullah, `Utba b. Mas`ud, `Urwa b. az-Zubayr and others like them such as `Urak b. Malik al-Ghifari al-Madini, the faqih of the people of Dahlak (who used to fast constantly) and `Abdullah b. Shaddad by. al-Had, one of those who transmitted from `Umar, `Ali and Mu`adh. The riwaya of `Urwa b. az-Zubayr from Marwan is in 'The Musnad' of Imam Ahmad (First edition, 4:321, 323, 326, 328 and 5:179). The riwaya of `Arak from Marwan is transmitted by the Imam of the people of Egypt, al-Layth b. Sa`d from Yazid b. Hubayba in 'The Musnad' of Ahmad (4:328). The riwaya of `Abdullah b. Shaddad b. al-Had from Marwan is in the Musnad of Ahmad (6:317 & 323).

Anyone who considers the hadith related which are from Marwan will find that those who relate them are reliable Imams whose riwaya has a chain from him over a period of two generations or more. All of them hold the highest rank in Islam among those who cooled the rancour which was in their hearts by attacking Marwan and those better than Marwan. Among the transmitters of the hadith of Marwan was `Abdu'r-Razzaq, the Imam of the people of Yemen, although he has some Shi'a tendencies in him. In 'The Musnad' of Ahmad (6:312), there is the hadith of `Abdu'r-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham that he was Marwan's messenger to the Umm al-Mu'minin Umm Salama to verify some of the judgments of the Shari'a. In 6:299 of 'The Musnad' of Ahmad is a sample showing the great concern that Marwan had for the sunna of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, as far as he was capable of bringing it out from the Imams and Amirs of the muslims.

As for the fuqaha' of the cities, all of them esteemed him, had respect for his khalifate, accepted his fatwa and followed his riwaya. As for the fools among the historians and men of letters, they speak according to their merits.

As for al-Walid, one of the commentators related that Allah called him fasiq (deviant) when he said, "When a deviant brings you news, then make clear, lest you afflict a people by ignorance." (49:6) According to them, it was revealed about him that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent him to the Banu'l-Mustaliq, and he reported that they had apostatized. On this account the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent Khalid b. al-Walid to them and he ascertained what had happened and the invalidity of his words became clear. There is some disagreement about this. Some say that it was revealed about this incident.

89. I was astounded at how this ayat could have come down about al-Walid b. `Uqba, and Allah call him deviant, and then after that the two khalifs of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, Abu Bakr and `Umar would still give him the position which history has written that he had. This contradiction between the trust that Abu Bakr and `Umar had for al-Walid b. `Uqba and how one should deal with him if Allah had called him deviant, moved me to doubt this ayat was sent down about him, not because it is unlikely that al-Walid did something by which he could be considered deviant, but because it is unlikely that the one described by "fisq" in the clear Qur'an would be the confidant of two of the friends of Allah, the Mighty, the Majestic, who were such that we do not know of anyone closer to Allah than them after His Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Then after I was assailed by this doubt, I looked again at the reports which have come about the reason for the descent of this ayat: "When the deviant brings you news." When I applied myself to studying it, I found that it stopped with Mujahid, Qatada, Ibn Abi Layla or Yazid b. Ruman. None of them mentioned the names of the reciters of these reports in the period of 100 years or more which passed between their days and the time of the event. These 100 years are full of reciters from different sources. Those who have a tendency to injure the reputation of people like al-Walid and those of greater rank than al-Walid have filled this world with suspicious reports which have no scholarly worth. The transmitters of those

reports, regarding the reason for the revelation of the ayat, are still unknown among the `ulama' who consider people to be just witnesses or not, (ta'dil) after the men to whom these reports reached. The scholars who consider people to be just witnesses or otherwise do not know anything about them, not even their names. It is not permitted in the Shari`a and history to judge that these sourceless broken reports are sound.

There are two direct reports. One of them is from Umm Salama. Musa b. `Ubayda claimed that he heard it from Thabit, the client of Umm Salama. an-Nasa'i, Ibn al-Madini, Ibn `Adi and a group considered Musa b. `Ubayda weak. This Thabit who is claimed to be the client of Umm Salama is not mentioned in anything referred to in the books of knowledge. He is not mentioned in 'The Tadh-hib at-Tadh-hib' nor in 'The Taqrib at-Tadh-hib' nor in the summary of 'The Tadh-hib al-Kamal'. I did not find him nor do I have any suspicions about 'The Balance of Justice' and 'The Tongue of the Balance'. I went to the collection of the hadith of Umm Salama in 'The Musnad' of Ahmad and I read them one by one, but I did not find this report among them. I did not find that Umm Salama had any report in which the name of a client of hers called Thabit was mentioned. In addition to all this, Umm Salama did not say in the report, if it is indeed sound - and there is no way to verify that it comes from her - that the ayat was revealed about al-Walid. She said, i.e. it is ascribed to her, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent a man for the zakat of the Banu'l-Mustaliq."

The second report is related by at-Tabari in the tafsir from Ibn Sa'd, from his father, from his uncle, from his father, from his father, from Ibn `Abbas. At-Tabari did not meet Ibn Sa'd and did not take from him because when Ibn Sa'd died in Baghdad in 230, at-Tabari was a child of six years and at that time had not left his home Amal in Tabaristan for Baghdad or anywhere else. If Ibn Sa'd himself was one of the people of integrity in the deen and majesty in knowledge, the `ulama' who judge integrity and its opposite do not know the names of most of the people in this chain before him, let alone anything about their states. All of these reports from first to last cannot censure an industrious man who was trusted by Abu Bakr and `Umar. He carried out services for Islam for which the greatest reward is expected, Allah willing. I add to all that has preceded the fact that at the time when this event occurred with the Banu'l-Mustaliq, about which the ayat was revealed, al-Walid was still young as will come in the following passage.

It is said it is about `Ali while al-Walid has another story. It is said on the day of the conquest of Makka that al-Walid went ahead in a group of youths to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and he patted their heads and blessed them. He said, "There was khaluq (coloured perfume) on my head, so the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, refused to pat it." When someone is that young, someone is sent to verify him.

90. This hadith about the age of al-Walid b. `Uqba on the day of the Conquest of Makka is related by Imam Ahmad in his 'Musnad' (4:32, first edition) from a shaykh of his who is

Fiyad b. Muhammad ar-Raqqi from Ja'far b. Barqan ar-Raqqi from Thabit b. al-Hajjaj al-Kilabi ar-Raqqi from `Abdullah al-Hamdani (and he is `Abdullah b. Malik b. al-Harith) from al-Walid b. `Uqba. It is apparent that al-Walid b. `Uqba related this hadith when he withdrew from people in the last two years of his life, and he chose to remain in a village he owned in the Raqqa area. The riwaya of the report has a chain in the transmitters of Raqqa and Imam Ahmad took it from a shaykh he knew among them. `Abdullah al-Hamdani is reliable, but his name is confused in other riwayats than these with another Hamdani whose kunya is Abu Musa and whose name is Malik b. al-Harith (i.e. according to the name of the father of `Abdullah al-Hamdani). He is known and trusted. Qadi Abu Bakr b. al-`Arabi relied on this riwaya and others like it in his judgment about the age of Walid b. `Uqba saying that he was a child when Makka was conquered and that the one about whom the ayat, "When the deviant brings you news" was sent down is someone else. It is extraordinary that those who have a tendency to slander the reputation of this young Companion who was a man of jihad, cheerfulness and good conduct among people, have tried to refute the proof of his youthfulness at that time by another report related about this coming to Madina with his brother `Umara in the seventh year of the hijra to ask the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, to return their sister Umm Kulthum to Makka. The fact of this report, even if it is sound, is that in it the name `Umara is put ahead of that of al-Walid. From this it is gathered that `Umara is put ahead of that of al-Walid. From this it is gathered that `Umara was the basis of this journey and that al-Walid came along to accompany him. What would prevent al-Walid from coming as a child with his older brother, indeed that is a common occurrence everywhere? Al-Walid's statement that he was a child in the year of the conquest is not contradicted by the report about his coming with his older brother to Madina in the seventh year of the hijra. So it should be clear to you that none of the reports which have come about al-Walid b. `Uqba regarding him being the reason for the revelation of the ayat, "When the deviant brings you news." allow a learned person to base a judgment in the Shari'a or historical judgment on them. When you add to that the hadith of 'The Musnad' of Imam Ahmad about the age of al-Walid in the year of the Conquest, then the wisdom of Abu Bakr and `Umar appointing al-Walid and their trust in him and their reliance on him although he was still a youth will be clear to you.

Through this disagreement, the `ulama' abandoned even strong hadith with al-Walid in their isnad. How could a man be considered fasiq because of words like these? How could that be with a man from among the Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace?

As for his hadd for wine, `Umar inflicted the hadd on Qudama b. Maz'un for wine while he was Amir and dismissed him. It is said that he later made up with him.

91. Qudama b. Maz'un al-Jumahi was one of the first of the forerunners. He went on hijra twice and he was at Badr. He was the in-law of the Umm al-Mu'minin, Hafsa bint `Umar and her brother, `Ubaydullah. While Qudama was in charge of Bahrayn during the Khalifate of `Umar, al-Jarud, the master of the Banu `Abdu'l-Qays, came to `Umar, from Bahrayn and

claimed that Qudama drank and became drunk. `Umar said to him, "Who will testify with you?" He said, "Abu Hurayra." He asked Abu Hurayra to testify. He said, "I did not see him drink, but I did see him drunk and vomiting." `Umar said to him, "You have been excessive in the testimony." He sent for Qudama from Bahrayn and al-Jarud said to `Umar, "Carry out the Book of Allah on this one." `Umar said to him, "Are you an opponent or a witness?" He said, "A witness." `Umar said, "You have given your testimony." So al-Jarud was silent. Then he came in the morning to `Umar and said, "Carry out the hadd of Allah on this one." `Umar said, "You hold your tongue or I will deal severely with you." He said, "`Umar, that is not proper. Your nephew drinks wine and then you treat me severely." He brought one of Qudama's wives and she gave testimony against her husband. `Umar wanted to carry out the hadd on him. The Companions said to him, "We do not think that you should carry out the hadd on him while he is ill." Then he came again and they said what they had said to him before. `Umar said, "I prefer that he meet Allah under the whip than I meet Him while he is on my neck." He had him flogged. Qudama was cross with him. When they returned from the Hajj, he was brought to `Umar. `Umar spoke to him and apologised to him. Part of the good fortune of Qudama b. Maz'un was that he was a Qurayshi from the Banu Jumah. If he had been a Qurayshi from the Banu `Abdu Shams, the tongues of evil would have uttered contempt against him and fabricated lies about him for as long as there is a lie in this world.

Wrong actions do not remove integrity when there is repentance.

92. This is true, but it is like what happened to Qudama b. Maz'un and like what is famous with people about Abu Mihjan ath-Thaqafi, the poet-horseman who had a glorious day in the war of Qadisiyya. As for al-Walid b. `Uqba the mujahid, the just but wronged conqueror who made every effort to do all the good that he was able to for his community, he saw with his own eyes how the liars attacked the Salihun and how their falsehood was perpetrated against them. He withdrew from people after the murder of `Uthman to an estate he owned, cut off from the clamour of society. It was about fifteen miles from the city of Raqqa in the land of the peninsula where he had fought and where he had called its christians to Islam during the khalifate of `Umar. Now, the intrigues of the liars about him unveil their faults. It does not harm a man if the truth about him is uncovered some thirteen centuries later. The truth is old and evidence is not affected by age. When al-Walid b. `Uqba was appointed over Kufa by the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman, he wanted to be a model ruler in justice, nobility and good conduct with the people, as he was a model warrior in his jihad and establishing for Islam what was fitting in those who defended its call, those who bore its banner and spread its message. He ruled over Kufa for five years and his house was the only one in Kufa which did not have a door between him and the people whether they were people that he knew or not. Whoever wanted to could visit him whenever he liked, night or day. Al-Walid did not have any need to be veiled from the people.

All people should love a good Amir because he sets up houses of hospitality for strangers and brings good to the people. He begins to divide up property for male and female slaves and gives each slave extra money every month through which they can find ease without making

their masters pay for their provisions. In fact, the majority of the people had no choice but to love this model Amir for the length of the period of his rule - except for a party of the evil ones, the people of corruption whose tribe received the whip of the Shari`a for punishment at the hands of al-Walid. They devoted their lives to lying in ambush to harm him. These men include one who is called Abu Zaynab b. `Awf al-Azdi and another called Abu Mawra'. The third was called Jundub b. Abi Zuhayr. The authorities had seized their sons because of the night in which they took revenge on Ibn al-Haysaman and murdered him. One of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had settled in his neighbourhood. He had been in charge of the army of Khuza`a on the day of the conquest of Makka. He and his son had come from Madina to Kufa to travel with one of the armies of al-Walid b. `Uqba which was going towards it in the direction of the east for conquest and to spread the call of Islam. This Companion and his son testified that in the night those evil men had attacked the house of Ibn al-Haysaman. He and his son gave testimony against those murderers. Al-Walid therefore carried out the judgment of the Shari`a on them at the door of the castle in the courtyard. Their fathers made a contract against themselves with Shaytan that they would work devices against this good and merciful Amir. They sent observers and spies to watch his movements, although his house was constantly open. One day he had some of the poets of the north come as his guests. There was a christian among his uncles from Taghlib in the land of the peninsula and he had become muslim at the hands of al-Walid. The spies of those who sought revenge thought that this poet who had been christian must be one of those who drank wine and perhaps al-Walid honoured him because of that. They called Abu Zaynab, Abu'l-Mawra' and their companions and broke into al-Walid's house from the mosque side, even though the house did not have a door. When they burst in, he pushed something under the bed. One of them reached under with his hand and brought it out without the permission of the master of the house. When he got it out from under the bed, it was a plate on which were some separated grapes. Al-Walid had put it away out of modesty lest the plate be seen with only separated grapes on it. They began to blame each other out of shame. People heard the story and began to curse and abuse them but al-Walid covered up for them, kept it from `Uthman and was silent about it and patient.

Then the machinations of Jundub, Abu Zaynab and Abu'l-Mawra' were repeated. They seized on every event and gave it a bad interpretation and forged lies. Some of those who were officials in the government left, so al-Walid removed them from their offices due to their bad behaviour. They went to Madina and began to complain about al-Walid to the Amir al-Mu'minin and to seek his dismissal from Kufa. While those men were in Madina, Abu Zaynab and Abu'l-Mawra' entered the Amir's house in Kufa with some other gullible people. They remained in it until al-Walid came back to rest. The rest of the people left and Abu Zaynab and Abu'l-Mawra' remained until they were able to steal al-Walid's ring from his house and then they left. When al-Walid woke up, he could not find his ring. He asked his two wives about it. They were in a bedroom looking at the visitors of al-Walid from behind a curtain. They said that the last who remained in the house were two men, and they described their appearance and clothes to al-Walid. He recognised that they were Abu Zaynab and

Abu'l-Mawra' and realised that they had only stolen the ring for some trick which they were contriving. He sent someone to look for them but they were not to be found in Kufa. They had travelled immediately to Madina as witnesses against al-Walid, stating that he drank wine (and I think that they took their false testimony from the details of the event which had already happened to Qudama b. Maz'un during the khalifate of `Umar). `Uthman said to them, "How did you see him?" They said, "We were in his retinue and we came in and he was vomiting wine." `Uthman said, "Only the one who drinks wine vomits it." Al-Walid was brought from Kufa and he swore to `Uthman and told him about them. `Uthman said, "We carry out the hudud and the false witness invites himself to the Fire."

This story about al-Walid being suspected of drinking wine, as in the events of 30 A.H. in the history of at-Tabari, had nothing in it except for this according to various old sources. The elements of the report according to at-Tabari are that the witnesses against al-Walid were two of the men who sought revenge and there are many witnesses to their rancour against him. No mention of the prayer has come in the testimony at all, let alone whether it was two or four rak'ats. The addition of the mention of the prayer is something else extraordinary. Its report is transmitted from al-Hudayn b. al-Mundhir (one of the followers of `Ali). He was with `Ali and `Uthman when the hadd punishment was carried out on al-Walid. This report is transmitted from him, Muslim wrote it in his 'Sahih' ('The Book of the Hudud' chap. 8, pt. 38, pt. 5, p. 126) with the words, "I saw `Uthman b. `Affan when al-Walid was brought to him. He had prayed Subh with two rak'ats. Then he said, 'Shall I make it more?' Two men testified against him. One of them was Hamran and he testified that he drank wine. The other testified that he saw him vomit." The two witnesses did not testify that al-Walid prayed Subh with two rak'ats and then said, "Shall I make it more?", that is something Hudayn said. Hudayn was not one of the witnesses and he was not in Kufa at the time of the alleged event. So this particular course of suspicion does not have any isnad to anyone who is known. It is a wonder that the same report which is in the 'Sahih' of Muslim comes in three places in the 'Musnad' of Ahmad, related from Hudayn. What he heard from Hudayn in the 'Sahih' of Muslim is what was heard from him in the 'Musnad' of Ahmad in three places. The first and second places (pt. 1, p. 82 and 140, first edition, pt. 2, no. 264 & 1184, 2nd edition) contain no mention of the prayer on the tongue of Hudayn, let alone from anyone else. Perhaps one of the transmitters after him knew the discussion about the prayer was not the words of the two witnesses and was content to mention the hadd punishment.

As for the third place from the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (pt. 1, pp. 144-145, 1st edition, pt. 2, no. 1229), it comes on the tongue of Hudayn that "Al-Walid prayed Subh with four rak'ats with the people." It contradicts what comes on the tongue of Hudayn himself in the 'Sahih' of Muslim. There is change in one of the two riwayat and Allah knows best the reason for it. In both cases, the mention of the prayer is only according to the words of Hudayn, and Hudayn was not a witness and he did not relate from a witness, so this part of what he said is not considered.

After you know the business of those who sought revenge from what at-Tabari transmitted

from the shaykhs, I will add for you the knowledge of the business of Hamran. He was one of the slaves of `Uthman who rebelled against Allah before he testified against al-Walid. In the city of the Messenger, he married a divorced woman and went to her bed while she was still in her `idda from her first husband. `Uthman got angry at him for this and for other matters before it and he drove him out of his courtyard and expelled him from Madina. He went to Kufa to spread corruption there. He visited the right-acting slave, `Amir b. `Abda'l-Qays and forged lies against him with the men of the government and he was the reason that b. `Abda'l-Qays travelled to Syria.

By my ijtiḥad, I think that witnesses like these do not cause the hadd of Allah to be carried out on anyone, even among the ordinary people who are under suspicion, so how could it be with a strong striving Companion in whose hands the khalif placed the trust of an area and the leadership of armies? Part of the opinion regarding him is good conduct with the people and sincere preservation of the trusts of Allah. He was trusted by three of the most perfect khalifs of Islam: Abu Bakr, `Umar, and `Uthman. The kinship of al-Walid to `Uthman which the liars claim was the reason for his partiality, was the proof according to them that `Uthman showed preference for his relatives. In any case, the witnesses who testified before `Uthman did not allege the story of the prayer, even though they themselves were not people who feared Allah and the Last Day.

It was said to `Uthman, "You appointed al-Walid because he is your brother by your mother Arwa bint Kurayz b. Rabi'a b. Habib b. `Abdu Shams." He said, "Rather it was because he is the nephew of the Messenger of Allah by the Prophet's aunt Umm Hakim al-Bayda', the grandmother of `Uthman and the grandmother of al-Walid by their mother Arwa. Umm Hakim was the twin of `Abdullah, the father of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. How can a man be forbidden to appoint the brother of his kin?"

93. It preceded that the Amir al-Mu'minin, `Ali b. Abi Talib appointed the Amirs in the period of his khalifate in many cities of his rule from people who were his kin and that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, appointed men of the Banu Umayya and their youths. That is now Abu Bakr and `Umar acted. `Uthman only acted according to what the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and his two Companions had done before him. When `Uthman carried out the hadd on his brother for the sake of his community, he did something we do not think anyone else would have done on the testimony of biased witnesses who did not desire Allah by their testimony. The witnesses against al-Walid were of this biased type. A Qadi among the greatest Walis of Islam in knowledge, excellence and justice, Imam `Amir b. Sharahil ash-Sha`bi, testified to that. At-Tabari (5:60) related that ash-Sha`bi first heard about the bravery of Musallima b. `Abdul Malik, the grandson of al-Walid b. `Uqba in his jihad. Ash-Sha`bi said, "How would it be if you were to meet al-Walid when he commanded and raided? He used to raid and he reached far in these raids. No one said anything against him until he was dismissed from his office, certainly not when he was 'at the door' (i.e. at ad-Daraband which is beyond the Caspian Sea in Russia and is one of the strongest fortresses in the world) along with `Abdu'r-Rahman al-

Bahili who was the greatest of his generals. Some of what `Uthman gave to people at the hand of al-Walid was that he returned to every slave in Kufa some of the extra money in the treasury three times every month which they could enjoy without any cost to their masters." This is a testimony from ash-Sha`bi for al-Walid about his victorious jihad and his kindness to his people. The false ones are dealt a heavy blow and the Salihun are delighted. The Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman confirmed the state of his wronged brother's heart when he said, "We carry out the hudud and the false witness calls for the Fire".

As for his giving the Khums (fifth) of North Africa to one person, that is not true.

94. The truth is that he gave a fifth of the Khums to `Abdullah b. Abi Sarh as a reward for his jihad. Then he retracted it and asked for him to return it. It comes in the events of 27 A.H. of the 'History' of at-Tabari (5:49, Egypt, 1:2814-2815) that when `Uthman commanded `Abdullah b. Sa`d b. Abi Sarh to advance from Egypt to Tunis to conquer it, he said to him, "Allah will open North Africa to you tomorrow and you shall have a fifth of the Fifth (Khums) of the booty which Allah gives to the muslims." He went out with the army until he passed through Egypt and pressed into the land of North Africa and conquered it, both the flat land and the mountains. `Abdullah shared with his army what Allah had given him as booty taking a fifth of the Fifth and sent the four-fifths to `Uthman with Withayman an-Nasri. A delegation of those who came with him complained to `Uthman about what `Abdullah b. Sa`d had taken. `Uthman said to them, "I commanded him to do that. If you are resentful, it will be returned." They said, "We resent it." So `Uthman commanded `Abdullah b. Sa`d to return it and he returned it. `Abdullah b. Sa`d returned to Egypt having conquered North Africa.

Even though Malik and a group believe that the Imam can have his own opinion regarding the Khums and use it for whatever his own ijtihaad leads him to. If he gives it to someone, that is permitted. We have made this clear in its proper place.

95. i.e. In his other books when he goes into details about this question regarding the rules of Islamic fiqh. Imam `Amir b. Sharahil ash-Sha`bi said, "The fiefs take the form of booty making up a fifth of what Allah gives as booty." He said, "`Umar gave Talha, Jabir b. `Abdullah and ar-Rabbil b. `Amir fiefs. `Umar gave Abu Mufazzar a fief of Dar al-Fil." Among those to whom `Umar b. al-Khattab gave a fief was Nafi`, the brother of Ziyad and Abu Bakra by their mother. He gave him a fief of some land in Basra (whose area was ten jurbas), as pasture for his horses and his camels. (Look at the biography of Nafi` in the Isaba). Qadi Abu Yusuf said in 'The Book of the Kharaj' (p. 61) "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, gave fiefs and brought people close to Islam." The Khalifs after him gave fiefs to those they thought it was correct to give fiefs. (Abu Yusuf gives examples of this). Look at 'The Book of Fiefs' on pp. 77-78 of 'The Book of the Kharaj' by Yahya b. Adam al-Qurashi, published by as-Salafiyya. Imam ash-Sha`bi mentioned some of those to whom `Uthman gives fiefs. He said, "He gave a fief to az-Zubayr, Khabbab, `Abdullah b. Mas`ud, `Ammar b. Yasir and Ibn Habbar in the times of `Uthman. If `Uthman was mistaken, those before him erred as well, and they were those from

whom we take our deen, (at-Tabari 4:148). `Ali b. Abi Talib gave a fief to Kardaws b. Hani' al-Kardawsiyya and he gave a fief of land to Suwayd b. Ghafala and his relatives. How can they object to `Uthman and then be silent about `Umar and `Ali?

Qadi Abu Yusuf has some apt discussion on this subject in 'The Book of the Kharaj' (pp. 60-62, Salafiyya). As for people's claim about `Uthman loving his relatives and giving things to them, his love for his kin was one of his virtues. `Ali praised `Uthman for being the one who was closer to his family than the other Companions. `Uthman explained this position of his when he said. "They say that I love the people of my house and give to them, but it has not led to injustice. I give them what they are due. As for my giving to them, I give them from my property. I do not make the property of the muslims halal, nor myself, nor anyone else. I gave the great desired gift, the bulk of my own property, during the time of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, Abu Bakr and `Umar. Should I be avaricious and mean today? Is it a time that when the nobles from the people of my house come to me and when my life has passed, I should omit what I owe my family since the deniers say what they say?" At-Tabari (5:103) said, "'Uthman divided up his property and his land among the Banu Umayya and he gave his son the same as he gave the others. He began with the Banu Abu'l-`Asi and gave to the men of the family of al-Hakam fifteen thousand each. So they took one hundred thousand. He gave the same to the Banu `Uthman and he divided the rest among the Banu'l-`Asi and the Banu'l-`Is and the Banu Harb. Ibn Taymiyya took the broadest possible view and he said in the Path of the Sunna (3:187-188) that some of the fuqaha' believed that the relatives had a portion by virtue of their kinship with the Imam, as al-Hasan and Abu Thawr said. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, used to give to his relatives by the principle of guardianship. It was said that that was the privilege of those appointed to rule after him. He said, "In general, most of those who undertook to rule after `Umar singled out some of their relatives, either for appointment or money." Then he said in 3:237, "What `Uthman did regarding the property has three sources. One of them is that he was the agent for it and the agent has a due even when he is wealthy. The second is that those of kinship are those with kinship to the Imam. The third is that they (i.e. the relatives of `Uthman) were a numerous tribe unlike the tribe of Abu Bakr and `Umar. He needed to give to them and appoint them more than Abu Bakr and `Umar needed to appoint their relatives and give to them." This is part of what is transmitted from `Uthman in evidence for him.

As for their statement that he beat with the staff, I have not heard it from anyone - neither rebel nor obedient. It is a falsehood which is related and a lie that is told.

96. The report and hadith are divulged: made public and evident. "Natha" is like praise, but it is in both good and evil. Praise is only for good.

By Allah, it is prohibited.

As for his going above the step of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, I did not hear it from any of those who have taqwa. It is an objectionable rumour that

is related and mentioned. The heart of the one who changes is changed. Our `ulama' said, "If it is sound, this does not contain anything that makes his blood allowable." It is not impossible that that is true, but if that is the case then the Companions did not object to him doing it so they must have thought that it was permissible in the first place, or there must have been a reason which called for it. If that was not the case then there is no discussion.

97. The mosque of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had a narrow courtyard in the time of the Prophet and the Khalifate of Abu Bakr. One of the virtues of `Uthman in the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was that when the number of Companions increased, he purchased some land for a courtyard with his money by which the mosque of the Prophet was enlarged. Then the `Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar widened it and included the house of al-`Abbas b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib in it. Then the number of those who prayed increased with the number of the inhabitants of Madina and those who came to visit. The Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman widened it again and made its length one hundred and sixty cubits and its width one hundred and fifty cubits and renewed its foundations. The capacity of the mosque and the increase in the number of those who attended it and the distance some of them were from the mimbar in the khutba could be the reason for making it necessary to raise the speaker so that he could see them and they could see him and listen to him.

As for his being routed on the day of Hunayn, his flight of the Day of Uhud, his absence from Badr and the pledge of Ridwan, `Abdullah b. `Umar clarified the principle of the judgment about the pledge, Badr and Uhud. As for the Day of Hunayn, there was only a handful who stayed by the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, there is no explanation in the 'Sahih' of the matter regarding those who stayed. There are various statements. One of them is that the only ones who remained with him were al-`Abbas and his sons, `Abdullah and Quthum. This disagreement is all you need to know. The Companions shared in this event. Allah and His Messenger forgave him. It is not lawful to mention what Allah and His Messenger and the believers have dropped. Al Bukhari related,

98. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' (Book 62, chap. 9, pt. 4, p. 208) from the hadith of Sa`d b. `Ubayda.

"A man came to Ibn `Umar and asked him about `Uthman. He mentioned the good things he had done. He said, "Perhaps that vexes you?" He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'May Allah abase you.' The he asked him about `Ali and he mentioned the good things which he had done. He said, 'That is his house in the middle of the houses of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.' He said, 'Perhaps that vexes you?' He said, 'Certainly.' He said, 'May Allah abase you.' He left." `Ali had exerted all his effort. It was already stated in the hadith, "Islam is built on five." There is more in it by al-Bukhari on `Ali and `Uthman.

99. Perhaps the author is indicating the hadith of Ibn `Umar in the book of the tafsir of the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 65, chap. 2, the 'Tafsir' of al-Baqara, hadith 30, pt. 5, p. 157).

Al-Bukhari also related,

100. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' (book 26, chap. 7, pt. 4, pp. 203-204).

from the hadith of `Uthman b. `Abdullah b. Mawhad who said "A man came from the people of Egypt intending to go on the Hajj to the House. He saw some people sitting and he said, 'Who is the shaykh among them?' They said, 'Abdullah b. `Umar.' He said, 'Ibn `Umar, I will ask you something. Relate it to me! Do you know that `Uthman fled on the Day of Uhud?' He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Do you know that he was absent from Badr?' He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Do you know that he was absent from the pledge of Hdaybiyya and did not attend it?' He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Allah is greater.' Ibn `Umar said, 'Come and I will make it clear to you. As for his flight on the day of Uhud, I testify that Allah has forgiven him and pardoned him. As for his absence from Badr, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was his wife and she was ill. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, told him, 'You will have the reward and share of a man of those who are present at Badr.'"

101. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent the good news of the victory in Badr with Zayd b. Haritha to `Uthman in Madina. Usama b. Zayd said (in what at-Tabari [2:276] related), "The news came to us while we were levelling the earth over Ruqayya, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who was married to `Uthman b. `Affan. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, left me in charge of her along with `Uthman b. `Affan. Then is Rabi' al-Awwal, the year following the Battle of Badr, `Uthman married Umm Kulthum, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah. She went to live with him in Jumada al-Akhira.

As for his absence from the pledge of Ridwan, if anyone had been more respected in Makka than `Uthman, he would have sent him in his place. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent `Uthman....

102. Before he sent `Uthman, the Prophet wanted to send `Umar b. al-Khattab to Makka to convey what he brought to the nobles of Quraysh. `Umar said, "Messenger of Allah, I fear for myself with the Quraysh. There are none of the Banu `Adi b. Ka'b in Makka to protect me. But I will show you a man who is more esteemed than me there, `Uthman b. `Affan." The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, summoned him and sent him to Abu Sufyan and the nobles of Quraysh.

.....and the pledge of Ridwan occurred after `Uthman had gone to Makka.

103. Because when `Uthman conveyed his message in that journey, he was detained for some days and did not return to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, at the time he was meant to return. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, heard that his ambassador had been killed. Therefore the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, summoned the Companions to the Pledge of Ridwan to help `Uthman. He

intended to go with his Companions to Makka and deal with the idol worshippers because of the news of `Uthman's murder. The Pledge of Ridwan was one of the marks of honour accorded `Uthman. What honour is greater? The forces of Islam gathered under the leadership of the greatest Messenger to take revenge for this man who was beloved to the muslims and who had the high position with the first and the last. When the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, later learned that `Uthman was alive at the moment in which the Companions had gathered to take the pledge, he proceeded to complete the pledge according to his Sunna, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. When he began a business, he completed it, even if the reason for it had gone. Then `Uthman had a doubled honour since the hand of the Messenger of Allah represented his hand in the contract of the pledge for him. So the pledge of Ridwan was to help `Uthman and all of the Companions took a contract with their own hands except for `Uthman, and the noblest hand in existence took his place and gave his pledge for him. If `Uthman had no other honour in his life except this, it would have been enough.

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, held out his right hand, saying, "This is the hand of `Uthman." Then Ibn `Umar said to him, 'Take this with you now.'"

104. It is extraordinary to find a community where ignorant men censure `Uthman for being absent from the Pledge of Ridwan when they include men who were aware of his courage when people advanced to shed the blood of this merciful Khalif for various reasons - and this was one of them. Since a man who came to worship Allah in the Hajj has this sort of ignorance which he then openly stated to a group of the Companions of Quraysh whose leader was `Abdullah b. `Umar, it is not surprising that there still was a need to clarify the truth in the time of Qadi Abu Bakr ibn al-`Arabi. People like us in this time are aware that `Uthman is still in a position, with regard to part of his community, which demands justice, and he still needs to be defended from bad words. This is what leaves us in our current state among the nations and the state in which we will continue to sink. "Allah does not change a people until they change what is in themselves."

As for his preventing `Ubaydullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab from being killed for al-Hurmuzan, that is false.

105. By the testimony of al-Qamadhban, the son of al-Hurmuzan, at-Tabari related (5:43-44, Egyptian edition) from Sayf b. `Umar with his isnad to Abu Mansur. He said, "I heard al-Qamadhban speak about the killing of his father. He said, 'When `Uthman was appointed, he called me and gave me power over him (i.e. `Ubaydullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab). Then he said, "This is the one who killed your father. You are more entitled to him than me, so go and kill him." I took him out and everyone in the land went with me. They were begging for him. I said to them, "Can I kill him?" They said, "Yes," and they abused `Ubaydullah. I said, "Do you have anything to prevent it?" They said, "No," and they abused him. So I left him to Allah and to them and they took me away. By Allah, I only reached the house at the head and

shoulders of men.'" These are the words of the son of al-Hurmuzan. Every just person believed (and perhaps the son of al-Hurmuzan also believed) that the blood of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar lay on the neck of al-Hurmuzan and that Abu Lu'lu'a was only an implement in the hand of this Persian.

If he did not do it, there were many companions (of his Khalifate). This business also occurred at the beginning.

106. `Uthman acted in this matter after he had consulted the Companions about it. At-Tabari said (5:41), "'Uthman sat at the side of the mosque and called `Ubaydullah while he was sitting in the house of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas. He is the one who took the sword from his hand. `Uthman said to a group of the Muhajirun and the Ansar. 'Tell me what I must do in this matter which splits Islam?' `Ali said, 'I think that you should kill him.' One of the Muhajirun said, '`Umar was killed yesterday and then his son is to be killed today!?' `Amr b. al-`As said, 'Amir al-Mu'minin, Allah would have forgiven you if this had happened while you had power over the muslims. However, this took place before you had power.' `Uthman said, 'I am their guardian. I make it a blood-wit and I will pay it with my own money.'"

It was said, "Al-Hurmuzan worked to provoke the murder of `Umar. He carried the dagger and it was seen under his garment.

107. In 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:42), is the hadith of Sa'id b. al-Musayyib. He related that `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi Bakr as-Siddiq said on the morning when `Umar was attacked, "Yesterday evening I passed by Abu Lu'lu'a, Jufayna (who was a christian from the people of Hira and a tutor to Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas) and al-Hurmuzan were with him. They were speaking secretly. When I approached them, they jumped up and they dropped a dagger. It had two heads and the handle was in the middle. Look and see what dagger `Umar was killed with." A man from the Banu Tamim went out to investigate. The Tamimi came back to them. He had pursued Abu Lu'lu'a when he left `Umar and caught him. He brought the dagger which `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi Bakr had described. `Ubaydullah b. `Umar heard that. He held back until `Umar died. Then he girded on his sword and went to al-Hurmuzan and killed him.

`Ubaydullah killed him when `Uthman was not the ruler. Perhaps `Uthman did not think that `Ubaydullah deserved punishment since the state of al-Hurmuzan and what he did was not proven.

108. Similarly the sage of the community, `Abdullah b. `Abbas, held the opinion that it was permitted to kill the unbelieving Persians who were in Madina without exception. Ibn Taymiyya said in the Path of the Sunna (3:200), "'Abdullah b. `Abbas spoke when `Umar was attacked and `Umar said to him, 'You and your father used to want many infidels to come to Madina.' Ibn `Abbas had more fiqh and more deen than `Ubaydullah b. `Umar and was much more excellent. He asked `Umar for a general permission to kill the infidel Persians who were in Madina when they were suspected of corruption. He believed that this sort of thing was permitted. If al-Hurmuzan was among those individuals who had assisted in

`Umar's murder, he was one of those who corrupt the land. Therefore he should have been killed for that. If he had found that the slain man was someone whose blood was protected, then it would have been forbidden to kill him. However, the killer thought and believed that it was lawful to kill him by this clear suspicion. That suspicion which he had, averts punishment from the killer (i.e. from `Ubaydullah b. `Umar). I said, "'Uthman believed this when he spared him the blood-wit and paid it from his own property." `Ubaydullah b. `Umar killed al-Hurmuzan. He also killed the daughter of Abu Lu'lu'a. He also killed Jufayna an-Nasrani because he was also suspected of that. The enemies of `Uthman, May Allah be pleased with him, said that he did not take any retaliation from `Ubaydullah for that. The answer is that the daughter of Abu Lu'lu'a was a magian and Jufayna was a christian. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, as has come in al-Bukhari, "A muslim is not killed for a kafir." `Uthman defended their deen when he paid the blood-wit of al-Hurmuzan after al-Hurmuzan's son had forgiven `Ubaydullah as we saw elsewhere. If something like the murder of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar b. al-Khattab had occurred in any other land, no matter what the level of its civilization, they would not have done what the Companions did in their forbearance, which went to the very limit, even to the extent of killing the son of the Amir al-Mu'minin who had been murdered by treachery, depravity and blameworthy attack.

If noone undertook to demand it, how could it be sound to look into an unproven business when all these possibilites existed?

As for their statement that a letter was found with the rider or with his slave (and noone at all says that it was his slave).....

109. They said that he was a slave in charge of the zakat, i.e. he was one of the herdsmen of the zakat camels. The camels of the zakat numbered many thousands and they had hundreds of herdsmen. If it is said that he was one of the herdsmen of the zakat camels, even their leaders did not know their names because of their great number, let alone the Amir al-Muminin, his great agents and helpers, assuming that he actually was one of the herdsmen of the zakat camels. How easy it would be for those rebels to hire him for their purposes. It is proven that al-Ashtar and Hukaym b. Jabala remained behind in Madina when the rebels left it, after they were content with the answers and proofs of `Uthman. While al-Ashtar and Hukaym b. Jabala remained, the plot involving the letter and its carrier was completed as a means of renewing the sedition and to bring back the rebels. None except al-Ashtar and his companions had any profit in renewing the sedition. How many tricks they used which were more tortuous than simply hiring a herdsman who tended the zakat camels! They have mentioned that Muhammad b. Abi Hudhayfa, the fosterling of `Uthman al-Abiq by his favour, was at that very moment in Egypt provoking people against the Amir al-Mu'minin and forging false letters ascribed to the wives of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He took camels and emaciated them, and put men outside the houses in Fustat with their faces towards the sun so that their faces would look like those of travellers. Then he commanded them to go out to the Hijazi road in Egypt and send a messenger to tell people

that they were coming. When they met them, they said that they were bringing letters from the wives of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, complaining about the rule of `Uthman. These letters were read out in the mosque of `Amr in Fustat to the assembly of the people although they were forged and false. Those who carried them had been in Egypt the entire time and they had not gone to the Hijaz at all. (Look at 'The Book' by Sadiq `Urjun about `Uthman b. `Affan, pp. 132-133). Forging letters in the tragedy of the attack on the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman was one of the weapons that the attackers used on every side and in all cases. We have had one example of that, and more will come later.

....addressed to `Abdullah b. Sa`d b. Abi Sarh, telling him to kill its bearers.

110. How can he have written to `Abdullah b. Sa`d b. Abi Sarh when he had given `Abdullah permission to come to Madina and knew that he had left Egypt (at-Tabari, 5:122) and he knew that the one with power in Fustat was Muhammad b. Abi Hudhayfa, the head of the rebels and their chief in the region? The transmitters of the reports are also confused about the contents of the forged letter when they try to specify its contents. That will all be discussed later.

`Uthman said to them, "Bring two witnesses to that. If not, I swear that I never wrote it nor did I command that."

111. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:18), "Everyone who knows anything about the state of `Uthman knows that he was not one of those who would command the death of Muhammad b. Abi Bakr or men like him. It is not even known that he killed anyone like this. These men strove to kill him (i.e. to kill the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman) and Muhammad attacked him with them. He did not command that they be killed in order to protect himself, so why would he instigate the execution of someone whose blood was protected?

It might have been written in `Uthman's words, done in his handwriting and sealed with his seal.

112. Something similar happened in the time of `Umar as al-Baladhari related in 'The Conquest of the Lands' (p. 448, pub. 1350) and Ibn Hajar in the 'Isaba' (3:358, pub. in 1328).

They said, "Then surrender Marwan to us." He said, "I will not do it." If he had surrendered him, that would have been unjust.

113. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:189), "If `Uthman had commanded that Muhammad b. Abi Bakr be killed, he deserved to be obeyed more than those who sought to kill Marwan because `Uthman was an Imam of guidance and a rightly-guided Khalif who must put his people in order and kill those whose evil can only be averted by execution. As for those who sought to kill Marwan, they were kharijite people who were corrupting the earth. They did not have the right to kill anyone nor to carry out any hadd-punishment. Marwan was no nearer to sedition and evil than Muhammad b. Abi Bakr. Ibn Abi Bakr was

not more famous in knowledge and the deen than Marwan. The people of the Sahih volumes related a number of hadith from Marwan. He spoke with the people of fatwas. They disagree about whether he was a Companion. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr did not have this position with the people, furthermore, Marwan was one of the associates of Ibn az-Zubayr, etc."

They must seek their right against Marwan and others (from him). It is firm that he executes and takes. He empowers the person who takes his right. In addition to his precedence, excellence, and position, nothing is proven against him to necessitate that he be dismissed, let alone killed.

The most likely of what is related in his story is that because of the previous decision, certain people conspired against him with malice which was believed by those who wanted something and did not get it and who harboured a great envy whose sickness showed. A person is moved to that by lack of the deen, lack of certainty, and preference for this world before the next world.

114. The Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali b. `Abi Talib described them in a similar way in the speech in which he addressed the new men in his army in Kufa when the warrior of jihad and Companion, al-Qa`qa` b. `Amr at-Tamimi was seeking to finish the task which `A'isha, Talha and az-Zubayr had sought to complete. At-Tabari related (5:194) that `Ali mentioned Allah's blessing to the community through agreement on the Khalif after the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and the next one after him and the next one after him. He said in the presence of those who had murdered `Uthman, "Then this event took place. It was brought on the community by certain people who desired this world. They envied the excellence Allah had given him and wanted to reverse things." Then he mentioned that he would travel the next day to Basra to meet with the Umm al-Mu'minin and his brothers Talha and az-Zubayr. He said, "None should travel tomorrow to assist `Uthman, may Allah be pleased with him, with anything in any of the matters of the people. Let the fools protect themselves from me."

When you look at this, you will clearly see the baseness of their hearts and the falseness of their business.

115. We already summarised the characteristics of those who attacked `Uthman. The first to uncover their secret and look at their faces with the light of Allah and think ill of them was that man of Islam, the transmitter of hadith, Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar b. al-Khattab. He had perspicacity which did not err. At-Tabari related (4:86) that when `Umar reviewed the armies for jihad in 14 A.H., the tribes of the Yemeni inhabitants passed before him with Kinda. They were led by Husayn b. Numayr as-Sakuni and Mu`awiya b. Hudayj, one of the Companions who conquered Egypt and later was one of its governors. `Umar did not like them. There were some young men among them with dark lank hair. He turned away from them and then he turned away again and turned away a third time, until he was asked, "What is wrong between you and those men?" He said, "I am doubtful about them. None from the Arabs has passed by me which I disliked more than them." They included Safwan b. Haran abd Khalid

b. Miljam. Both of them were among those who attacked `Uthman.

Al-Ghafiqi al-Misri was the Amir of the people.

116. He is Ghafiqi b. Harb al-`Ukki, one of the sons of the nobles of the Yemani tribes who stayed in Egypt after it was conquered. When Ibn Saba' appeared with his partisanship for `Ali and did not find a breeding-place for his occupation in the Hijaz, nor in Syria, he contented himself with placing some helpers in Basra and Kufa. He chose to reside in Fustat. This al-Ghafiqi was one of his recruiters. They won him over by means of his desire for leadership and rank. Muhammad b. Abi Hudhayfa b. `Utba al-Ummawi was the fosterling of `Uthman al-Abiq. He was his right hand in carrying out the plans of the Saba'ites in Egypt. Al-Ghafiqi was in charge of dispatch and vengeance. In Shawwal of 35 A.H., they made their preparations to advance from Egypt to Madina with four groups of men who numbered about six hundred altogether. There was a leader in charge of every group. Their general leader was this al-Ghafiqi. They pretended that they were intending to go on Hajj. In Madina, their agitations developed until the business got out of control and they prevented `Uthman from praying with the people in prayer (at-Tabari, 5:107). When Shaytan induced them to undertake the greatest crime, al-Ghafiqi was one of those who dared to do it and struck `Uthman with a sword he had and struck the Qur'an with his foot and turned it around (at-Tabari, 5:130). After the murder of `Uthman, Madina remained for five days while its Amir was al-Ghafiqi b. Harb (at-Tabari 5:155).

Kinana b. Bishr at-Tujibi,

117. This was also one of the recruiters of Ibn Saba' in Egypt. When `Uthman sent `Ammar to Egypt to investigate the rumours and to ascertain the real situation, the Saba'ites won him over. Kinana b. Bishr was one of them (at-Tabari, 5:99). When the mobs from the tribes gathered to attack Madina under the pretext of the Hajj in Shawwal of 35 A.H., they split up into four groups in Egypt. Each group had an Amir. Kinana b. Bishr was the Amir of one of these groups (at-Tabari, 5:103). Then he was in the front of those who attacked the house of `Uthman, holding a torch (soaked in naphtha), in his hand. He entered by the house of `Amr b. Hazm and the torches were carried in after him, (at-Tabari, 5:123). Kinana at-Tujibi reached `Uthman and stabbed him with a broad arrowhead and blood splashed on the ayat, "Allah will be enough for you against them," (at-Tabari, 5:131). Muhammad b. `Umar al-Waqidi said, "'Abdu'r-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hishan al-Makhzumi al-Madini (died 43 A.H.) said, 'The one who killed the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman was Kinana b. Bishr b. `Attab at-Tujibi, (at-Tabari, 5:132). Al-Walid b. `Uqba b. Abi Mu`ayt says on it:

Isn't the best of creation after the three,

the one who was murdered by the Tujibi who came from Egypt?

Kinana was to be slain in the war which broke out in Egypt in 38 A.H. between Muhammad b. Abi Bakr as-Siddiq, the representative of `Ali and `Amr b. al-`As and men from the army

of Mu`awiya b. Hudayj as-Sakuni (at-Tabari, 6:51-59 and 60).

Sawdan b. Hamran,

118. As-Sakuni, one of the tribes of Murad of Yemen who stayed in Egypt. It was already stated that in 14 A.H. he was one of those who came during the khalifate of `Umar to do jihad with the armies of the Yemen under the leadership of Husayn b. Numayr and Mu`awiya b. Hudayj. When the Amir al-Mu`minin reviewed them, his glance fell on Sawdan b. Hamran and his colleague Khalid b. Miljan. He felt that there would be calamity from them and so he disliked them. When the Amir al-Mu`minin `Uthman sent `Ammar to Egypt to investigate the source of the false rumours and ascertain the real situation for him, the Saba'ites embraced `Ammar.

Sawdan b. Hamran was one of them, (at-Tabari, 5:99). When the Saba'ites moved the volunteers in the sedition from the Yemani mobs in Egypt during Shawwal of 35 A.H. towards Madina and they divided them into four groups, Sawdan was the leader of one of those groups, (at-Tabari, 5:103). When these rebels reached Madina and Muhammad b. Maslama went out to them to stress the right of `Uthman and to point out that they were bound by the homage which they had given to him, he saw that they followed four men. This man was one of them, (at-Tabari, 5:118). In 5:131 of 'The History' of at-Tabari, he described how Sawdan and some others scaled the wall from the house of `Amr b. Hazm to reach the house of `Uthman. In 5:130, there are some of the details of what Sawdan did when they committed the terrible crime. When they finished murdering the Amir al-Mu`minin, Sawdan left the house shouting, "We have killed `Uthman b. `Affan!" (at-Tabari, 5:123)

`Abdullah b. Budayl b. Warqa' al-Khuza'i,

119. His father was an aged man among those who became muslim at the conquest of Makka. `Abdullah b. Budayl will be mentioned in the sedition against the Amir al-Mu`minin `Uthman. At-Tabari (5:124-125), mentioned that al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas b. Shariq ath-Thaqafi, the ally of the Banu Zuhra, went out with `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr, Marwan and others to defend the Amir al-Mu`minin at the door of his house. `Abdullah b. Budayl attacked al-Akhnas b. Shariq and killed him. Ibn Hajar transmitted in his biography in the Isaba (2:280) from Ibn al-Kalbi that `Abdullah b. Budayl and his brother `Abdu'r-Rahman were present at Siffin with `Ali and killed there. It is clear that his brother was killed before him. Ibn Hajar transmitted in the Isaba (2:281) from Ibn Ishaq in the 'Kitab al-Firdaws' that when `Ubaydullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab came to Kufa, (i.e. with the army of the people of Syria), he met `Abdullah b. Budayl. Ibn Budayl advised him not to shed blood in this sedition. `Ubaydullah used the excuse that he was seeking to avenge the blood of the Amir al-Mu`minin and that `Uthman had been wrongly murdered. Ibn Budayl offered the excuse that he was seeking revenge for the blood of his brother who had been wrongly killed. How could his brother have been wrongly killed when he was killed in a sedition in which he had voluntarily participated of his own free will while `Uthman, who was the Amir al-Mu`minin and ruled them by right, was attacked by Ibn Budayl, men like him and those who were less

important than him. In spite of that, `Uthman did not fight anyone and he did not defend himself. He forbade people to defend him against the mob who had come to the city of the Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, from the different lands to perpetrate evil.

Where is `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Budayl who is practically unknown in history, in relation to `Uthman whose good deeds filled the heaven and earth?

Hukaym b. Jabala from the people of Basra

120. Hukaym b. Jabala all-`Abdi was from the tribes of the `Abdu'l-Qays. Their root was in Oman and the coasts of the Persian Gulf. He lived in Basra after it was settled. This Hukaym was a brave young man. The Islamic armies which set out towards the west to spread the call and conquest came from Basra and Kufa. Hukaym b. Jabala accompanied these armies and risked himself in one of the dangerous attacks just as commandos do now. The armies of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman used him in one of these operations in its attempt to conquer India. The shaykhs of Sayf b. `Umar at-Tamimi (who is the most famous of the historians of the history of Iraq) confirmed what at-Tabari quoted from him (5:90), i.e. that when the armies returned Hukaym b. Jabala was among them, he went into Persia and changed the people of the Dhimmah for the worse and alienated them. He corrupted things in the land, took what he wanted and then came back. Both the people of the Dhimmah and the people of the Qibla complained to `Uthman. `Uthman wrote to `Abdullah b. `Amir that he should jail him and those like him. They were not to be allowed to leave Basra until right guidance could be seen in them. They jailed him (i.e. kept him from leaving Basra). When `Abdullah b. Saba' came to Basra, he stayed with Hukaym b. Jabala and some individuals gathered to him and he spat his poison into them. From there, Ibn Saba' travelled to Fustat and remained there. He began to correspond with them. Some of them disagreed.

At-Tabari (5:104) mentioned that when the Saba'ites decided to advance from the cities against the city of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, the number of those who came from Basra was the same as the number that came from Egypt. They were also divided into four groups. The Amir of one of these groups was Hukaym b. Jabala. They stopped at a place called Dhu Khashab. Then they threw pebbles at the Amir al-Mu'minin while he was speaking on the mimbar of the Prophet. Hukaym b. Jabala was one of them (at-Tabari, 5:106). When the rebels travelled from Madina the first time after their debate with `Uthman and listening to his defence and being content with it, they left al-Ashtar and Hukaym b. Jabala behind in Madina (at-Tabari, 5:120). That indicates a strong suspicion that they could have entered into the business of fabricating the letter ascribed to the Amir al-Mu'minin.

When `A'isha, Talha and az-Zubayr came to Basra and were about to reach an agreement with the Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali to put things in order, Hukaym b. Jabala was the one who started the fighting so that the understanding and agreement would not be completed (at-Tabari, 5:176 et seq.). He vilely murdered a woman from his own people. She had heard him

reviling the Umm al-Mu'minin, `A'isha and she said to him, "Son of a wicked woman, you are more suited to that!". So he attacked her and killed her (at-Tabari, 5:179). Then his people withdrew from helping him except for some fools among them. He continued to fight until his foot was cut off. Then he was killed. All those who were in the battle from those who had attacked `Uthman were killed. The herald of az-Zubayr and Talha called out in Basra, "Whoever has anyone in his tribe who is one of those who attacked Madina, should bring him to us." They were brought a dogs are brought and then killed. The only one who was missed among them was Harqus b. Zuhayr as-Sa`di, one of the Banu Tamim (at-Tabari, 5:180). `Amr b. Hafs related from his shaykhs that he said, "A man from al-Haddad struck the neck of Hukaym b. Jabala. He was called Dukhaym. Hukaym's head hung down attached by the skin and his face turned around to the back of his neck (at-Tabari, 5:182).

and Malik b. al-Harith al-Ashtar....

121. From an-Nakh'. That is a Yemani tribe from the tribes of Mad-haj. He was a brave hero and one of the heroes of the Arabs. His first military battle was at Yarmuk. He lost one of his eyes in it. Then he wanted to unsheathe his sword against his brother muslims in the sedition. If he had not been one of those who conspired against the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman and if Allah had written that his military battles were for the spread of Islam and to widen the conquest, he would have had another position in history. That which moved him to this course was his excess in the deen, and his love of leadership and rank. I do not know how they were both joined in him. Al-Ashtar was one of those who took Kufa as their place of residence. When al-Walid b. `Uqba was Amir over Kufa, al-Ashtar felt himself worthy of leadership and government. He erred with those who criticised the state and its men right from the highest Khalif in Madina down to his governor over Kufa, al-Walid b. `Uqba. When Abu Zaynab and Abu Mawra' stole al-Walid's ring from his house and took it to Madina and then testified that al-Walid had drunk wine as has been already stated, al-Ashtar and others rushed to Madina to enlarge the area of the sedition. When `Uthman dismissed al-Walid for Sa'id b. al-`As, al-Ashtar returned with Sa'd to Kufa (at-Tabari, 5:63). `Uthman had established a system for the transfer of lands. Whoever had some land from the booty in a place which was far from him could change it for land closer to him with the consent of the two who made the transfer. By this means, Talha b. `Ubaydullah renounced his shares in Khaybar and used them to purchase some of the booty of the people of Madina in Iraq. That was land called an-Nashasaj, (at-Tabari, 5:56).

While Sa'id b. al-`As was in the house of the amirate in Kufa with some people a man praised Talha b. `Ubaydullah for his generosity. Sa'd b. al-`As said, "If I had the like of the land of an-Nashasaj, I would let you live a life of plenty for Allah." `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khumays al-Asadi said to him, "I wish that you had al-Miltat." Al-Miltat was some land on the side of the Euphrates which had belonged to the family of Chosroes. Al-Ashtar and his companions became angry. They said to the Asadi, "You wish that he had some of our good land!" His father said, "He wants the double of it for you." Al-Ashtar and his companions attacked the Asadi and his father and beat them in the assembly of the Amir until they

fainted. The Banu Asad heard about that and came and surrounded the castle to defend their men. Sa`id b. al-`As stopped this strife and turned the Banu Asad away from al-Ashtar and his group. The nobles of Kufa and their men of right action wrote to `Uthman to ask him to expel these troublemakers from their land. he sent them to Mu`awiya in Syria (at-Tabari, 5:85-86). Then Mu`awiya expelled them and they came to the peninsula of Ibn `Umar. They were in the custody of `Abdu`r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid until they showed regret. Then al-Ashtar went to Madina to tell `Uthman of their repentance. `Uthman was pleased with him and allowed him to go wherever he liked. He chose to return to his colleagues who were with `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid in the peninsula (at-Tabari, 5:87-88). While he was telling `Uthman that he and his colleagues had repented in 34 A.H., the Saba`ites in Egypt were corresponding with their agents in Kufa and Basra. They told them to rebel against their Amirs and to make ready for a certain day. Only the group situated in Kufa did that. Yazid b. Qays al-Arhabi stirred them up (at-Tabari, 5:101).

When al-Ashtar came from Madina to his brothers who were with `Abdu`r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid, he found that they had received a letter from Yazid b. Qays al-Arhabi. It said, "Come as soon as you put down this letter." They felt uneasy about this summons and preferred to remain where they were. Al-Ashtar opposed them and returned as a rebel after his repentance. He joined the rebels of Kufa who had alighted at al-Jar'a, a place overlooking Qadisiyya. There they met Sa`d b. al-`As, the Amir of Kufa, when he was returning from Madina and turned him back. Al-Ashtar met a client of Sa`d b. as-`As. Al-Ashtar struck his neck. It reached `Uthman that they wanted to dismiss Sa`d for Abu Musa al-Ash`ari and he gave them what they had asked for (at-Tabari, 5:93-94). When the date in 34 A.H. proved unsuccessful and the sedition was confined to what took place in al-Jar'a, the Saba`ites prepared for the year after it (35 A.H.). They arranged things so that they went to Madina with the hajjis as if they were going on Hajj. Al-Ashtar was one of the leaders of the Kufa group. He was in charge of one of their four groups (at-Tabari, 5:104). After they reached Madina, the Amir al-Mu`minin `Uthman debated with them and made his proof clear to them in all that they thought. Most of them were satisfied with his position and forced the leaders of the sedition to be content with `Uthman's answers. They travelled from Madina and they did not travel with them (at-Tabari, 5:120).

When the Egyptians reached a place called al-Buwayb, a rider stopped them, playing the part of the bearer of the alleged letter. The story about that will come later. At-Tabari (5:194) mentioned that al-Ashtar was involved in the plot of the Saba`ites which they had hatched before `Ali travelled from Kufa to Basra trying to reach an understanding with Talha, az-Zubayr and `A`isha. The Saba`ites decided in their plot to start the war between the two parties before peace could be made between them. In the Battle of the Camel, `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr and al-Ashtar fought and they exchanged blows. `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr said his famous words, "Kill me and Malik!". Al-Ashtar got away from him. At-Tabari related (5:217) from ash-Sha`bi that people did not know al-Ashtar by the name of Malik. If Ibn az-Zubayr had said, "Kill me and al-Ashtar," and al-Ashtar had had a million men, none of them

would have been saved. He continued to give way before Ibn az-Zubayr until he managed to slip away. At-Tabari related (5:194) that when `Ali finished the oath of allegiance after the Battle of the Camel and appointed `Abdullah b. `Abbas over Basra, al-Ashtar heard that `Ali had appointed Ibn `Abbas. He became angry and said, "For what did we kill the old man then?! Yemen is for `Ubaydullah, the Hijaz is for Quthum, Basra is for `Abdullah and Kufa is for `Ali!" Then he called out, "Departure!" and rushed off and caught up with `Ali. He did not tell `Ali what he had heard. He said, "What is this journey? You have gone ahead of us?" Then al-Ashtar participated in the war of Siffin and `Ali appointed him over Egypt after Qays b. Sa'd b. `Ubada left it. When he reached Suez, he had a drink of honey and died. It was said that the honey was poisoned. That was is 38 A.H.

....were in the group of those leaders of theirs, as well as others.

They stirred up the sedition, so `Uthman expelled them by his ijthad. They went in a group to Mu`awiya.

122. They stirred up the sedition on the day when they beat up `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khunays al-Asadi and his father while they were in the house of the Amir in Kufa. The nobles and men of right action of Kufa wrote to `Uthman asking him to expel them to another land. Then he sent them to Mu`awiya in Syria. Those who were sent to Mu`awiya were: al-Ashtar an-Naka'i, Ibn al-Kiwa al-Yashkari, Sa'sa'a b. Sawhan al-`Abdi, his brother Zayd, Kumayl al-Azdi, Thabit b. Ways b. Munaqqa', `Urwa b. al-Ja'd al-Bariqi, and `Amr b. al-Humq al-Khuza'i.

He reminded them by Allah and by taqwa against perverting the situation and breaking up the wholeness of the community,

123. The text of what Mu`awiya said is as is found with at-Tabari (5:86), "You are people from the Arabs. You have ears and tongues. You have obtained nobility by Islam. You have conquered the nations and you have taken their positions and their inheritance. It has reached me that you resent the Quraysh. If it were not for the Quraysh, you would have been considered abased as you were before. They are your Imams up until today and your shelter, so do not hinder your shelter. Your Imams are patient with you in injustice and bear the trouble from you. By Allah, you will cease or Allah will try you with one who will be hard on you. Then He will not praise you for patience. Then you will share with them in what you brought upon the populace while you were alive and after your death."

until Zayd b. Sawhan said to him (according to what is related.),

124. The killer was his brother Sa'sa'a.

"How much you go on at us about authority and the Quraysh! The Arabs still eat from the hilts of their swords while the Quraysh are merchants."

125. He also said to Mu`awiya, "As for what you mentioned of the shelter, when the shelter is

pierced, then come to us." i.e. when we kill our governors, we will be the rulers.

Mu`awiya said to him, "You have no mother! I remind you by Islam and you mention the jahiliyya to me! May Allah make unacceptable those who came frequently to the Amir al-Mu`minun because of you! You are not among those who are helped or harmed. Leave me !"

126. The answer Mu`awiya gave to the words of Sa`sa`a in the description of Quraysh and its position is lengthy and precious. At-Tabari quoted it (5:86).

Ibn al-Kiwa' informed him about the people of sedition....

127. The speaker might say, "Do not the events which occurred in the tragedy of the martyrdom of the Khalif `Uthman indicate his negligence since he did not know what was happening in the secret conspiracy of the plotters?"

In reality, in spite of his occupation with the vast conquests which were completed in his time, this Khalif was not unaware of the plots which were hatched against him in order deceitfully to harm Islam. As far as the events themselves were concerned, he was free of any suspicion of weakness repeated by his opponents.

The historian, Muhammad `Izza Daruza said, "Ibn Sawda (i.e. `Abdullah b. Saba') and his groups worked to spread the call against `Uthman and his Amirs until they enlarged their base, as has come in the transmission of at-Tabari. They wrote secret letters and sent them to the people in the cities. That reached the people of Madina and they went to `Uthman to ask him whether he had heard what had reached them from the cities. He told them, "By Allah, only peace has come to me, so tell me what it is." Then he told them, "You are my partners and the witnesses of the believers. Give me advice." They indicated that he should send certain individuals who were trustworthy to the cities to tell the people that neither his notable men nor the common people objected to anything that `Uthman had done. The Amirs were just to the people (at-Tabari, part 3, p. 379).

Then he wrote a general letter to the people of the cities in which he mentioned what he had heard about the rumours and the attacks on the Amirs. He said, "The Amir al-Mu`minun is appointed to undertake to command the correct and forbid the objectionable. He appoints his governors to do that. He is prepared to listen to every complaint about himself and about his governors and to give justice to the one with the complaint and give everyone with a due his due." He summoned anyone with a complaint to come to him in the Festival (pp. 380-381). At-Tabari quoted that from 'The History of the Arab Race' (7:231). Then he summoned the governors of the cities and asked them for news about the affair. He said, "I fear that it will be proven against you." They assured him that they were following the oath of the truth and correct behaviour, and that what he had heard was nothing but intrigue and whisperings spread by stealth. One of them proposed that the propaganda agents be punished and executed. He commanded his governors to be prudent, compassionate and indulgent as long as that did not entail the loss of the rights of the community. One of the governors was

Mu`awiya b. Abi Sufyan (from 'The Arab Race', 7:232. He quoted at-Tabari.) The historians mentioned that `Uthman gathered some of his elite and consulted them about the business of this people. He listened to them and then he said to them, "I have heard all that you have pointed out to me. Every business has a door. This business which is feared for this community is still hidden and its closed door can be opened. We will hold it back by leniency and by being obliging, except in the hudud of Allah. If the door opens, no one will have proof against me. Allah knows that I have treated the people well. If the millstone of sedition turns around, then `Uthman will have bliss if he dies without being the one to move it." The people were silent when he gave them their rights. When the rights of Allah are damaged, are they to be lax? ('The Khalif Lied Against', p. 64, by Muhammad Sadiq 'Urjun.)

One of the clearest proofs of the strength of `Uthman and his self-composure was his position when the rebels and people of the sedition were intense in their attack on him. They attacked him in his house to kill him while the great valiant Companions and their sons wanted to defend him as we stated elsewhere. He ordered everyone who thought that `Uthman was owed obedience to restrain their hands and throw away their weapons. This was due to his solicitude for the blood of the muslims, even if that involved offering his life to death and to murder.

Would that I knew what personal courage and what patience people could seek beyond this! If courage is self-control in calamities without any apprehension, steadfastness in adversities without anxiety, and firmness in great misfortunes without being shaken, the sources could not avoid someone like `Uthman in his courage, self-composure, the strength of his certainty, and firmness in his opinion. No one in a situation similar to that which `Uthman was in would endure the like of what `Uthman endured, not even part of it. No one could endure the affliction and trial as `Uthman endured it. How could someone endure something which would lead him to being murdered with full knowledge and insight? If he had been fearful and had wanted to do anything other than endure that, with both certainty and contentment, he had means by which he could have escaped and lived in comfort. However, `Uthman, may Allah be pleased with him, was neither weak nor abject, as is claimed by those who are incapable and negligent. He was strong in iman, great in certainty, high-minded, with great courage, noble in patience, and piercing in insight. He ransomed the community and established its greatest supports of order in social formation. ('The Khalif Lied Against' by M.S. 'Urjun, p.65).

....in every land and their conspiracies.

128. Ibn al-Kiwa said in what Ibn `Asakir quoted in his biography of the History of Damascus (7:299) and Abu Ja`far at-Tabari quoted in his History (5:92), in describing the people of misdeeds: the people of Madina are the most free from evil in the community and the most incapable of it. As for the people of misdeeds from the people of Kufa, they are the ones who most frequently dwell on small wrong actions although they commit the greatest wrong actions. As for the people of misdeeds from the people of Basra, they rejected

everyone and went out in separate groups. As for the people of misdeeds from the people of Egypt, they are both the people with the fullest portion of evil and the quickest to repent. As for the people of misdeeds from the people of Syria, they were the people who were the quickest to obey their guide and rebel against the one who would misguide them.

He wrote to `Uthman to inform him about that. He sent their individuals to them. Mu`awiya expelled them,

129. He wrote about them to `Uthman, "Some people have come to me who have neither intellect nor deen. Islam burdens them and justice vexes them. They do not aim for Allah in anything nor do they speak by any proof. They are concerned with sedition and taking the property of the people of the Dhimma. Allah is the One who will test and try them. They are those who injure people. Restrain Sa`id and those with him. They do not have the most strife or repugnant behaviour." (at-Tabari, 5:87)

and then they went to `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid

130. He was appointed over Hums for Mu`awiya and the area of the peninsula, Harran and ar-Ruqqa.

and he imprisoned them and rebuked them. He told them, "Remember what you mentioned to Mu`awiya."

131. That was after he said to them, "Tools of Shaytan! You have no welcome! Shaytan has returned in sorrow and yet you are still active! May Allah disappoint `Abdu'r-Rahman if he does not discipline you until he makes you feel regret! Oh company of a people whom I do not know to be arab or non-arab, you will not say to me what I heard that you said to Mu`awiya. I am the son of Khalid b. al-Walid. I am the son of one who was tested by the teeth. I am the son of the one who knocked out the Ridda. By Allah, Sa'sa'a, if I were to hear that any of those with me had broken your nose and then given something to you, I would have made you fly down an abyss (at-Tabari, 5:87).

He held them and kept them abased until they repented after a year had passed.

132. Whenever he rode, he made them walk. When he passed by Sa'sa'a, he said, "Son of a mean woman, don't you know that the one who is not put right by good is put right by bad? Why do you not tell me what I heard that you said to Sa`id and Mu`awiya?" They said, "We repent to Allah. Release us, may Allah release you!" (at-Tabari 5:87-88)

He wrote about them to `Uthman and `Uthman told him to send them to him. When they stood in front of him, they reiterated their repentance and they took an oath that they were telling the truth and said that they were innocent of what they were accused of.

133. The one who went to the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman in Madina was al-Ashtar an-Nakh'i alone. He is the one who represented the sons of Sawhan, Ibn al-Kiwa and others, in restating their earlier repentance with `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid. However, the

sedition was not confined to these men. It originated with Ibn Saba' who chose to reside in Fustat. It had a branch in Basra. Al-Ashtar and his brothers left some men in Kufa. While al-Ashtar was in Madina restating his repentance and the repentance of his brothers, the agents of Ibn Saba' were writing to Basra and Kufa to set the time to attack their brothers in Kufa calling them to participate in the plot. Only al-Ashtar, who had not yet even forgotten his repentance, was happy about that summons to sedition and evil. He sped to Kufa and joined the sedition which history calls "The Day of al-Jar'a." That was in 34 A.H.

He let them choose about where they wanted to go. Each of them chose a city: Kufa, Basra or Egypt. He sent them out and wherever they went, they rebelled and agitated until other groups joined them.

134. When the Saba'ites were unsuccessful in their attack on their governors in 34 A.H. on the sedition of the Day of Jar'a, they plotted another sedition with a wider area. They set it for the following year (35 A.H.) when the hajjis were preparing to go from Egypt, Basra, and Kufa to Madina and Makka. The hajjis went on Hajj to obey Allah, but the propagandists of the sedition went to declare rebellion against Allah. They had organised themselves into twelve groups: four groups from Egypt, four from Basra, and four from Kufa. There were about 150 deluded people in each group, i.e. about 600 men from every city.

Those who went to `Uthman....

135. i.e. To the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman in the city of the Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

....were: Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Udays al-Balawi, in charge of the people of Egypt,

136. The warrior poet. He stayed (in Egypt), with the conquering army. It is not known that he was distinguished by anything other than his participation in this sedition, even though he claimed that he was one of those who took the Pledge of the Tree. I do not think that he was one of the leaders who organised the sedition. However, their organisers took advantage of his desire for leadership. They made use of his age and rank among the warriors of the Arab tribes of Egypt. They appointed him to lead one of the four groups which left Egypt for Madina. The leaders of the other three groups were: Kinana b. Bishr at-Tujibi, Sawdan b. Hamran as-Sukuni, and Qutayra as-Sukuni. Their supreme leader was al-Ghafiqi b. Harb al-`Ukki. During the siege, `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Udays was very cruel towards the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman and the people of his house. He ended by being killed at Hebron, close to Hums. A bedouin met him. When he admitted that he was one of `Uthman's murderers, the bedouin leapt up and killed him. ('The Collection of the Land' by Yaqut: Hebron) Whoever said that Ibn `Udays was related to Tujib made a mistake. He was a Balawi from Quda'a. As for Tujib bint Thawban al-Madh-hajjiyya, only the sons of her sons are ascribed to her and `Adi, the sons of Ashras b. Shubayb b. as-Sukun from Kinda. Where is Kinda in relationship to Quda'a?

Hukaym b. Jabala, in charge of the people of Basra,

137. The information was already given earlier. He was the Amir of one of the four groups from Basra (the three others were Dhurayh b. `Abbad al-`Abdi, Bishr b. Shurayh "al-Hatm" and Ibn al-Mahrash al-Hanafi. Their supreme leader was Harqus b. Zuhayr as-Sa`di).

and al-Ashtar Malik b. al-Harith an-Nakh`i, in charge of the people of Kufa.

138. He was already mentioned earlier. He was the Amir of one of the four groups of Kufa. The three others were: Zayd b. Sawhan al-`Abdi, Zihad b. an-Nadr al-Harithi and `Abdullah b. al-Asamm. Their supreme leader was `Amr b. al-Asamm.

They came to Madina at the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 35 A.H.

139. They lighted three stages outside of Madina. Then the rebels of Basra advanced and camped at Dhu Khashab. The rebels of Kufa camped at al-A'was. Most of them camped at Dhu'l-Marwa.

`Uthman received them. They said, "Call for a copy of the Qur'an." He called for it. They said, "Open to the ninth,"

140. It is like that in the Algerian edition (2:117). Perhaps he erred and the correct version is the "seventh" as in 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:107). It is said that that was the position of the Sura Yunus in the Qur'an of Ibn Mas`ud, according to what is in 'The Fihrist' of Ibn an-Nadim (p. 39, published in Egypt).

meaning Sura Yunus. They said, "Read." He read until he reached Allah's words, "Has Allah given permission, or do you forge lies against Allah?" They told him, "Stop." they said to him, "Do you think that Allah has given you permission for the hima which you have made or have you forged lies on Allah?" He said, "Finish the ayat. It was revealed about such-and-such. `Umar made the hima and when there were more camels, he enlarged the hima."

141. The discussion on the hima has already been given.

They began to interrogate him in that way but he defeated them. Finally he said to them, "What do you want?"

They made an agreement with him and wrote down five or six stipulations on it:

142. i.e. They made five or six stipulations with the following meanings.

That the exile be returned, that the Amir give to the one who was deprived, that the booty be given in full, that he be just in the division and that he appoint those who had trust and strength. They wrote all of that in a document. He enjoined them not to break from the community nor leave the community. Then they went back well contented.

143. Those who came from their cities against the city of the Messenger, may Allah bless

him and grant him peace, consisted of two groups: the deceitful leaders and their deluded followers. They were many. Biased propaganda had spread among them until they believed that there actually were exiles who had been wronged, deprived individuals who had been stripped of their rights, etc. You have already seen the testimony of the two most truthful witnesses in Iraq at that time: al-Hasan al-Basri and his brother Ibn Sirin. They testified to the abundance of gifts, provisions and various blessings in `Uthman's time when people were summoned to accept them. He did not refuse anyone. You already saw the testimony of Imam ash-Sha`bi regarding general provision and bounty, even for slaves. When the rebels heard `Uthman's answers and recognised the truth, they were satisfied and retreated. They went home by different routes since their cities lay in opposite directions. The Egyptians headed for the northwest so as to travel along the coast of the Red Sea to Suez and Egypt. The Iraqis, both the Basrans and Kufans, headed northeast in order to go by the Najd highlands to Basra and Kufa in Iraq.

It was said that he sent `Ali to them and they agreed on the above-mentioned five stipulations and went back well contented. While they were on their way,

144. i.e. While the Iraqis from Basra and Kufa were on their way to the northeast and the Egyptians were on their way towards the northwest, and while there were many stages between the two groups because they had already been travelling for some time and were very far from each other,

a rider stopped before them.

146. He only stopped them so that they would look at him. He deliberately made them suspicious of him. This is what those who had employed this man wanted. He was meant to play this role. The organisers of this plot wanted to rekindle the sedition after Allah had quelled it and relieved the Muslims of their evil. It would not be reasonable to assume that this drama could originate with `Uthman, Marwan or any man connected with them because they would not profit by rekindling the sedition after Allah had averted it. Those who stood to benefit by that were the first propagandists who wanted to provoke this strife. They included al-Ashtar and Hukaym b. Jabala who did not travel with their people. They had remained behind in Madina (at-Tabari 5:120). The only reason for them to remain in Madina would be to conspire and take these measures. It was their sole desire.

Therefore they examined the letter. They found a letter which was ascribed to `Uthman, and bore his seal, addressed to the governor of Egypt. It ordered him to crucify them and cut off their hands and feet.

148. The reports which have come on it state that the rider was `Uthman's slave, and that the camel was one of the zakat camels, and that `Uthman admitted that. These are all mursal reports whose speaker is unknown, or else they are lies spread by those whose truthfulness and trustworthiness are doubted. The riwayat is confused regarding the contents of the letter. One of the riwayat had, "When `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Udays comes to you, flog him

100 times, shave his head and beard, and imprison him for a long time until my command comes to you. Do the same to `Amr b. al-Humq, Sawdan b. Hamran, and `Urwa b. an-Nabba' al-Laythi." One version has, "When Muhammad b. Abi Bakr as-Siddiq and so-and-so and so-and-so comes to you, kill them and consider their document invalid. Remain in your post until my opinion comes to you." A third version says that the contents of the letter commanded his governor to kill them, cut off their hands, and crucify them as rebels. This disagreement about the contents of the letter increases its doubtfulness.

They advanced on Madina.

149. The most extraordinary thing is that the caravans of the rebels which were far from each other in the east and west returned together to Madina at the same time, i.e. the caravans of the Iraqis which had been many stages away from the caravans of the Egyptians, learned through this staged transmission at the very same moment in which the drama was being played out in al-Buwayb. They returned to Madina at the very moment that the Egyptians returned. They reached Madina together as if it had been arranged. This means that those who hired the rider to pay the role of the bearer of the letter for the caravans of the Egyptians, also hired another rider to leave Madina with him to go to the caravans of the Iraqis to inform them that the Egyptians had discovered a letter which `Uthman had sent to `Abdullah b. Sa'd in Egypt, ordering him to kill Muhammad b. Abi Bakr. At-Tabari said (5:104), "'Ali said to them, 'How did you learn, people of Kufa and people of Basra, what the people in Egypt had found when you had travelled several stages? Now you come back to us? By Allah, this is a matter which was fabricated in Madina!' He, may Allah ennoble his face, indicated that al-Ashtar and Hukaym had remained in Madina, and they were responsible for this drama. The Iraqi rebels said, "Take it however you like. We do not need this man. Let him leave us." They admitted that the letter was forged and that their first and last desire was to depose the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman and to shed his blood, although Allah had protected him by the Shari'a of His Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

They went to `Ali and said to him, "Don't you see that the enemy of Allah has written such-and-such about us? Allah had made his blood lawful" They said to him, "Join us." He said, "By Allah, I will not join you." They said, "Then why did you write to us?" He said, "By Allah, I did not write to you." They looked at each other.

150. At-Tabari (5:108). All the riwayat agree about this conversation between `Ali and the rebels. It is a definite strong text showing that the hand which forged the letter against `Uthman and informed the Iraqis about it and asked them to return to Madina was the same hand which forged the letter ascribed to `Ali and sent it to the Iraqi rebels, asking them to return. We already said (no. 143) that the rebels were in two groups: deceiving and deceived. Those who were deluded looked at each other when `Ali swore that he had not written to them. They wondered how it could be that `Ali had not written to them when his letter had reached them. Who had written the letter ascribed to him if he had not written it? You will learn that Masruq b. al-Ajda` al-Hamdani (who was one of the notable Imams of guidance)

censured the Umm al-Mu'minin `A'isha for writing to people to command them to come out against `Uthman. She swore to him by Allah, in whom the believers believe and whom the rejectors reject, that she had not written anything to them. Sulayman b. Mahran al-A'mash, one of the great Imams said, "They thought that it was written and then ascribed to her."

Oh Muslims of this age, the criminal hands who forged the false letters ascribed to `A'isha or `Ali and Talha and az-Zubayr are the same hands which organised all of this iniquity. They are the ones who cooked up the sedition from the beginning to the end. They are the ones who forged the so-called letter ascribed to the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman, addressed to his Governor in Egypt at the moment when he knew that he did not have a Governor in Egypt. They forged the letter which was ascribed to `Uthman with the same pen they used to forge the other letter ascribed to `Ali. All of that was done in order to make the rebels return to Madina after they had been content with the soundness of the position of their khalif and satisfied that what had been spread about him was all lies and they were assured that he acted in every matter according to what he thought to be true and good. The in-law of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, (who had given him the good news of martyrdom and the Garden) was not the only one harmed by this foul Saba'-ite conspiracy. Islam itself was injured. The pure history which generations of muslims learned was distorted and twisted. Those generations were among those injured by that foul jew and those who surrendered to him in their passions and appetites.

Then `Ali left Madina.

They went to `Uthman and said to him, "You wrote such-and-such about us." He told them to bring two of the muslims as witnesses or he would take an oath as we already mentioned. They did not accept this.

151. Because they did not come to accept the truth or to refer to the Shari`a. They came either to depose him or to shed his blood.

They broke the treaty

152. That which was already stated is that they had bound themselves not to leave the community nor part from the community.

and laid siege to him.

It is related that al-Ashtar was brought to `Uthman. Al-Ashtar said to him, "People want you either to abdicate or to offer yourself for retaliation. If not, they will kill you." He said, "As for my abdicating, I will not leave the community of Muhammad while they are set against each other. As for retaliation, my two companions (Abu Bakr and `Umar) before me did not offer themselves for retaliation. My body will not bear that."

153. This report is in 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:117-118) and in 'The Beginning and the End' (7:184) and in 'The Lineages of the Nobles' by al-Baladhari (5:92).

It is related that a man said to him, "I have vowed to take your blood." He said, "Take my shirt." He made a slit in it with his sword and his blood flowed through it. Then the man left, mounted his camel and departed immediately.

154. This report is in 'The Book of the Introduction' by Imam Abu Bakr al-Baqillani (p.216). More extraordinary than that was what at-Tabari related (5:137-138).

'Umayr b. Dabi al-Barjimi and Kumayl b. Ziyad an-Nakh'i came to Madina to assassinate `Uthman. They had planned that in Kufa with the rest of their gang. When they reached Madina, 'Umayr held back while Kumayl lay in ambush for the Khalif until he passed by him. When they met, `Uthman was suspicious about him. He hit out at his face and 'Umayr fell on the ground. He said to `Uthman, "You have hurt me, Amir al-Mu'minin!" `Uthman said, "Are you not an assassin?" He said, "No, by Allah. There is no god but Him!" People gathered and said, "We will investigate him, Amir al-Mu'minin." He said, "No, Allah has given me well-being. I do not want to know anymore about him than what he said." Then he said to Kumayl, "If you are speaking the truth, then settle with me." (and he knelt). "By Allah, I only thought that you were aiming for me." He said, "If you are speaking the truth, then may Allah repay you. If you lie, Allah is the Abaser." He sat on his heels for Kumayl and said, "Here you are." Kumayl said, "I leave it." This position is not the position of a Khalif, let alone one less than him. It is more like the position of those who have the character of the Prophets since Allah grants respite and does not overlook. Al-Hajjaj came forty years later and Dabi and Kumayl were killed since they had intended to assassinate a man whose heart was filled with the mercy of Allah. "Allah will let the unjust man enjoy himself until what he cannot escape seizes him." (Related in al-Bukhari and Muslim.)

Ibn `Umar came to him and `Uthman said to him, "See what these men say! They say: 'Abdicate or we will kill you.'" Ibn `Umar said to him, "Will you be immortal in the earth?" He said, "No." He said, "Can they do more than kill you?" He said, "No." He said, "Do they possess a garden or a fire for you?" He said, "No." He said, "Do not remove the shirt of Allah from yourself lest that become a sunna. Whenever a people dislike their Khalif, they will depose or kill him."

155. Al-Baladhari quoted this report in 'The Lineage of the Nobles' (76:5) from the hadith of Nafi' b. `Umar. Before Ibn `Umar gave the Khalif that opinion and called him with this noble good counsel, `Uthman had a clear sign of that and a light from Allah. Ibn Majah related in the preface of his 'Sunan' (chap. 11, pt. 1, p. 27) from the hadith of an-Nu'man b. Bashir from the Umm al-Mu'minin `A'isha that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said to `Uthman, "'Uthman, if Allah appoints you to this matter one day, the hypocrites will want to remove your shirt which Allah has put on you. Do not remove it." He said that three times. In the 'Musnad' of Imam Ahmad (pt. 6, first edition, p. 75, 86, 114 & 149) there is the hadith of `A'isha with different words which 'Urwa b. az-Zubayr b. an-Nu'man b. Bishr and others related from her.

`Uthman looked down at them from the wall and offered his proof against them in the sound

hadith regarding the foundation of the mosque, digging the well of Ruma and the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when Uhud shook with them. They conceded the things which he mentioned to them.

156. Look in the 'Musnad' of Imam Ahmad (1:59, first edition, no. 420, second edition) at the hadith of Abu Salama b. `Abdu'r-Rahman. Also look at 'The Sunan' of an-Nas'i (2:124-125), the Collection of at-Tirmidhi (4:319-320) and the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (1:70, first edition, no. 511, 2nd edition) from the hadith of al-Ahnaf b. Qays at-Tamimi. 'The Sunan' of an-Nasa'i (full and condensed, 2:65-66, 123-124) and 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:125) has the hadith of Abu Sa'id, the client of Abu Asyad al-Ansari.

It is confirmed that `Uthman looked down at them and said, "Are the sons of Mahdaj among you? I ask you by Allah, do you not know that `Umar said, 'Rabi`a is corrupt or perfidious?' By Allah, I will not give them shares, nor will you give shares to a people who have come after a month's travel.' Their clever one has their mahr, (bride-money). I gave them five hundred in one raid until I joined them together." They said, "Yes."

He said, "May Allah remind you! Do you not know that you came to me and said, 'Kinda is a bite of the head and Rabi`a is the head. Al-Ash'ath b. Qays has eaten them.' So I removed him and appointed you." They said, "Yes."

He said, "Oh Allah, they have rejected my equity and they have bartered my favour. Do not give them pleasure from their Imam and do not be pleased with an Imam from them."

`Abdullah b. `Amr b. Rabi`a said, "I was with `Uthman in his house. He said, 'I ask those who believe that they owe me obedience to hold back their hands and their weapons.'

157. The collection of reports about the position of `Uthman in respect of defending himself or submitting to fate indicates that he disliked sedition and feared Allah regarding the blood of the muslims. However, at the end of the business, he did wish that he had had a dominant force with him to frighten the attackers and one which would prevent them from attacking without there being any need for using arms to obtain this result. Before matters came to a head, Mu`awiya offered to send him a force from the army of Syria which would be subject to his directions. He refused to oppress the people of the Abode of the Hijra with an army that would have to be billeted with them (at-Tabari 5:101). He did not think that the audacity of those men would lead a group of his brother muslims to assail the blood of the first man to do hijra for Allah in the way of His deen. When the attackers were fierce against him and he believed that defending himself would cause blood to be shed, he begged all of those who obeyed him to keep their hands and weapons from the perils of force. There are many reports about that in sources both from his friends and his enemies. However, if an ordered military force had appeared in the arena to face the rebels and to put a limit on their insolence and their rashness, `Uthman would have been spared that and would have rejoiced in it, even though he was content that he should die as a martyr.

Then he said, 'Get up, Ibn `Umar.' Ibn `Umar was wearing a sword. `Uthman said, 'Inform the people.'

158. In 'The Beginning and the End' (7:172) about the raids of Ibn `Uqba, it says that Ibn `Umar did not wear any weapons except on the Day of the House during the Khalifate of `Uthman and on the day when he went to Najda'l-Haruri to enter Madina with those who rebelled in the days of `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr.

Ibn `Umar and al-Hasan b. `Ali left. Then the men came in and murdered him."

159. In 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:129) it says that the last to leave was `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr. `Uthman told him to take his will, which he had written in preparation for death, to az-Zubayr. He told him to go to the people in the House (i.e. those who were defending him in the courtyard of the castle) and tell them to go home. `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr was the last of them to leave. He continued to call people and speak to people about `Uthman until he died. `Uthman appointed az-Zubayr because az-Zubayr was his confidant among the great Companions. Ibn `Asakir (5:362) related that six of the Companions made him a trustee: `Uthman, `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf, Ibn Mas`ud, al-Miqdad, Muti` b. al-Aswad and Abu'l-`As b. ar-Rabi'. He used to give some of his property to their orphans and guard their property for them.

Zayd b. Thabit came and said to him, "Those Ansar at the door are saying, 'If you wish, we are the Ansar of Allah', twice." `Uthman said, "I have no need of any defence."

160. Al-Baladhari quotes it in the Lineage of the Nobles (5:73) from the hadith of Ibn Sirin. Ibn `Asakir transmitted from the historian of the first generation, Musa b. `Uqba al-Asadi, - (about whom Imam Malik said, "You must have the raids of Ibn `Uqba. He is reliable. They are the soundest raids.") - that Abu Hubayba at-Ta'i (who is one of those from whom Abu Da'ud, an-Nasa'i and at-Tirmidhi related), said, "When `Uthman was besieged, the Banu `Amr b. `Awf came to az-Zubayr. They said, Abu `Abdullah, we have come to you and we will do what you command us to do (i.e. to defend the Amir al-Mu'minin)." Abu Hubayba said, "az-Zubayr sent me to `Uthman. He told me to give him my greetings and tell him, 'Your brother tells you that the Banu `Amr b. `Awf have come to me and they have promised me that they will come to me and do what I command. If you wish, I will come to you and be one of the people of the House and I will endure whatever happens to them. I am willing to do that. If you wish, I will wait for the meeting with the Banu `Amr and I will defend you with them. I can do that.'" Abu Hubayba said, "I came to `Uthman and I found him on a chair with a back. I found some thin clothes thrown down and some boiling tubs. I found al-Hasan b. `Ali, Ibn `Umar, Abu Hurayra, Sa'id b. al-`As, Marwan b. al-Hakam and `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr in the house. I conveyed the letter of az-Zubayr to `Uthman. He said, 'Allah is greater! Praise be to Allah who has protected my brother. Tell him that if he comes to the house, he will be one of the men of the Muhajirun. His honour will be the honour of a man, and his wealth will be the wealth of a man. Rather he should wait for the meeting with the Banu `Amr b. `Awf. Perhaps Allah will defend me by him.'" he said, "Abu Hurayra got up

and said, 'Oh people, my ears have heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say, 'There will be seditions and calamities after me.' I said, 'Where will a person be saved from them, Messenger of Allah?' He said, 'With the Amir and his party.'" Then he indicated `Uthman. The people said, 'Give us permission and we will fight, our insight has enabled us to do so.' `Uthman said, 'No, I beg you! No one who obeys me should fight.' He said, 'Those who murdered `Uthman did it before the meeting with the Banu `Amr b. `Awf. They killed him.'" (Look at the summary of this in 'The Lineage of Quraysh' by az-Zubayri, p. 103)

The Banu `Amr b. `Awf were a large tribe from al-Khazraj, one of the branches of the Ansar. When the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, reached Madina on his hijra from Makka, he stayed as their guest for three days. Then he moved to the Banu'n-Najjar.

Abu Hurayra said to him, "Today, it is good to fight for you." He said, "I beg you to leave."

161. This report is in 'The History' of at-Tabari.

As-Hasan b. `Ali was another who left him. Al-Hasan and al-Husayn, Ibn `Umar, Ibn az-Zubayr and Marwan had come. He begged them to put down their arms and leave and remain in their homes.

Ibn az-Zubayr and Marwan said to him, "We have resolved that we will not leave." `Uthman opened the door and the men came in against him according to the soundest of the statements.

162. The basis of this report is in 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:128) from Sayf b. `Umar at-Tamimi from his shaykhs.

The black one killed him.

163. It is like that in the Algerian edition. 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:125) has "black death." The sources on which 'The History' of at-Tabari are published are sounder than the sources for the book in Algeria. It is well established that Ibn Saba' was with the rebels in Egypt when they came from Fustat to Madina (at-Tabari 5:103-104). In all the roles which he played, he was very eager to act undercover. Perhaps "the black death" is a metaphorical name for that by which he means to allude to it and not to communicate their intrigues for the destruction of Islam.

It is said that Ibn Abi Bakr took hold of his beard and Kinana killed him.

164. He is Kinana b. Bishr b. `Attab at-Tujibi, the general of one of the four Egyptian groups. Before that, he was one of those whom embraced `Ammar b. Yasir in Fustat to try to make him become a Saba'ite. He was the first to enter the house of `Uthman with a naphtha torch for burning down the door. He is the one who unsheathed his sword to put it in the belly of the Amir al-Mu'minin. `Uthman's wife Na'ila tried to shield him and Kinana cut off her hand and leaned with the sword on his chest.

At-Tujibi's end was that he was killed in the battle which started in Egypt between Muhammad b. Abi Bakr and `Amr b. al-`As in 38 A.H.

"Kinana" is wrongly altered in the Algerian edition by the inscription "Ruman."

It is said that it was a man from the people of Egypt called Himar,

165. I did not see the name among those who dared to commit the terrible crime. Perhaps the copyists altered the name of Safwan b. "Hamran" or the name of `Amr b. al- "Hamq".

and that a drop of `Uthman's blood fell on the Qur'an at the words, "Allah will be enough for you against them." That contains elements which remain controversial, right until today.

It is related that `A'isha, may Allah be pleased with her, said, "Would I defend you from flogging and not defend `Uthman from the sword? You asked him for favours until you left him like a purified lump of boiled sugar. You washed him with the vessel and you left him like a garment cleaned of filth. Then you killed him."

166. She said that the first time when she reached Madina on her return from the Hajj. Some people gathered to her and she delivered an eloquent speech to them. This sentence comes at the end of it. (at-Tabari, 5:165-166) "Maws" is to wash with the fingers. "Qand" is sugar-cane syrup when it is hard.

Masruq....

167. He is one of the Imams of the Tabi'un who are followed. He died in 63 A.H. He is the one who said to `Ammar in Kufa before the Battle of the Camel, "'Abdu'l-Yaqathan, why did you kill `Uthman?" He said, "For the abuse of our honour and for beating our skin." Masruq said to him, "By Allah, you did not punish him with the same punishment which you received from him. If you had been patient, that would have been better for the patient." (at-Tabari 5:187).

....said to her, "This is your doing. You wrote to people to command them to attack against him." `A'isha said, "By the One in whom the believers believe and the kafirun reject, I never wrote anything at all to them." Al-A'mash said, "They related that it had been ascribed to her."

168. As he wrote ascribing the letters to `Ali and to `Uthman.

It was related that he did not kill anyone except for some infidels from the people of Egypt.

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "This is the most likely of what is related on this subject, and the root of the question is the path of the truth. It is clear in it that none of the Companions acted against him nor held back from him. If he had asked for help, one thousand or four thousand outsiders could not defeat twenty thousand or more of that land. However, he submitted to the affliction.

169. Because he chose the lesser of two evils by that. He preferred to sacrifice himself rather than expanding the area of the strife and shedding the blood of his community by his blood. How much better a reward he has!

The `ulama' disagree about someone who is in a similar situation. Does he surrender or does he ask for help?

170. Part of the policy of Islam is that in every case, you should choose what has the least evil and least harm. If the good has a dominant force which will curb evil and restrict its area, Islam guides us to curbing evil by the power of good without any hesitation. If the good does not have the strength to dominate and curb evil and restrict its area, as was the case in the situation of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman with those who attacked him, then the best interests of Islam lie in the like of what `Uthman inclined to do, may Allah elevate his station in the everlasting Abode.

Some of them allow him to submit and surrender to imitate what `Uthman did and to follow the advice of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, to do that in civil war.

171. These are the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, according to what Imam al-Bukhari related in 'The Book of Virtues' (book 61, chap. 25, pt. 4, p. 177) and in 'The Book of Seditions' (book 92, chap. 9, pt. 8, p. 92) from his 'Sahih' from Abu Hurayra that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "There will be civil strife. The one who sits during it is better than the one who stands. The one who stands will be better than the one who runs. The one who contemplates them will be drawn by them. So the one who finds a shelter or a refuge should seek shelter in it." Abu Musa al-Ash'ari stated in Kufa before the Battle of the Camel that he had heard it from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. (at-Tabari, 5:188)

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "I judged between people and obliged them to perform the prayer, command the correct and forbid the objectionable so that no objectionable things would remain in the land. The situation was unbearable for the people of extortion. It was very distressing for the dissolute. Therefore they rallied together and plotted. They rose against me. I submitted to the command of Allah and I commanded all of those around me not to defend my house. I went out on the roof by myself and they wreaked havoc against me and proceeded to loot the house. If it had not been for a good decree, I would have been murdered in the house.

172. Here the author draws a reference from his own life to confirm the prophetic wisdom.

Three things moved me to do that. One of them was the previous advice of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

173. We quoted it earlier from the hadith of Abu Hurayra in the Sahih of al-Bukhari and from the hadith of Abu Musa in Kufa before the Battle of the Camel.

The second was to imitate `Uthman. The third was the bad talk from which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, fled, supported by revelation.

174. That was when Ibn Salul spoke about the raid of the Banu'l-Mustaliq, "When we return to Madina, the mightier will drive out the weaker." `Umar wanted to kill him, but the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, stopped him. He said, "People will not say that Muhammad killed his Companions."

I feared that the one who was not there, the one who envies me, would say, 'The people went to ask him for help, and he shed their blood.'"

All of `Uthman's business was the sunna and pleasing behaviour. It is confirmed that he was murdered because the Truthful One told him he would be murdered and he gave him the good news of the garden because of an affliction which would befall him. He said that he would be a martyr.

175. The clarification of that was given earlier.

It is related that he said to him in a dream, "If you wish, I will help, or else you can break your fast with us tonight."

176. This transmission by Ibn Abi'd-Dunya is from the hadith of `Abdullah b. Salam in 'The Beginning and the End', and in the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (1:72, first edition, no. 526, second edition) from the hadith of Muslim, Abu Sa'id, the client of `Uthman. He said, "'Uthman freed twenty slaves. He called for trousers and put them on, although he had not worn them either in the Jahiliyya nor in Islam. He said, 'I saw the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, yesterday in a dream and I saw Abu Bakr and `Umar. They told me, 'Be patient. You will break your fast with us tomorrow.' Then he called for a Qur'an and spread it open before him. He was killed while it was in front of him." Imam Ahmad said, "This hadith from Na'ila, the wife of `Uthman (1:73, no. 536) is similar to that. In 'The Beginning and the End' (7:172), there is the hadith of Ayyub as-Sakhtiyani from Nafi' from `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab and by various other paths. Look at 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:125).

The apostates and the ignorant men were ready to say. "All the excellent companions gathered and rebelled against him. They were satisfied with what happened to him." They contrived to write a letter full of eloquence and examples which `Uthman had supposedly written to `Ali asking for help. All of that was fabricated in order to fill the hearts of the muslims with malice towards the past salaf and rightly-guided Khalifs.

177. These forged letters and the information conveyed in them and the false letters fill up the volumes of history and books of literature. There are two ways to distinguish the true from the false. One of them is the method of the people of Hadith. They only accept reports with isnads going back to individuals with their names. Then they investigate the states of those individuals and accept those they believe to be truthful and reject the lie. The second method

is that of the historians. They present every report on the character of the one from whom they quote and they add his biography to it and whether it is something that you can expect to happen from the one to whom it is attributed and whether it agrees with what is known of his antecedents and his character or not. A thorough examination of our history requires both these methods together which are used by the scholars who have firm knowledge of both of them.

Qadi Abu Bakr said, "We can see in that that `Uthman was wronged. He was defeated, but without any proof."

178. As is clear in this book with its definite isnads. Look at 'The Book of the Introduction' by Imam Abu Bakr al-Baqillani (pp. 220-227).

The Companions were innocent of his blood because they did what he wanted and submitted to his opinion when he himself submitted.

Beyond what was already said, `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr said to `Uthman, "We are with you in the house as an intelligent group of men who wish to help Allah. Give us permission to fight." He said, "May Allah remind a man who sheds his blood for me."

179. When those who were going on Hajj to the House of Allah began to return to Madina, the first of those who hurried among them was al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas b. Shariq ath-Thaqafi, the Companion. He reached `Uthman before he was slain. He saw the skirmish at the door of `Uthman's house and he sat at the door on the inside and said, "We have no excuse with Allah if we leave you while we have power. We will not leave you until we die." He was the first to go out against the attacking invaders. He fought until he was killed. Al-Hasan b. `Ali b. Abi Talib went out with him to fight them, saying to criticise what the attackers were doing:

Their deen is not my deen nor am I one of them,

unless I go to the proud mountains.

i.e. the lofty mountains. The one who falls from them is not saved. Muhammad b. Talha b. `Ubaydullah came out with them. He was known as as-Sajjad (the prostrator) because of his great amount of 'ibada. He was saying:

I am the son of the one who defended him at Uhud. He

repelled the parties in spite of a prepared one.

Look at 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:128-129).

Salit b. Abi Salit said, "`Uthman forbade us to fight them. If he had given us permission, we would have fought them until we had expelled them from there."

180. Ibn `Abdu'l-Barr related it in the 'Isti'ab' (2:118-119), in the margin of the Isaba) from

the hadith of Ibn Sirin from Salit. Ibn Hajar quoted a summary of it in the Isaba (2:72).

‘Abdullah b. ‘Amir b. Rabi’a said, "I was with ‘Uthman in the house. He said, "I beg all of those who think that they should obey me to restrain their hands and weapons. The best of you in ability is the one who restrains his hand and weapons."

181. In ‘The History’ of at-Tabari (5:127), it says that ‘Uthman summoned ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abbas and said to him, ‘Go, you are in charge of the Festival, i.e. in charge of the Hajj." Ibn ‘Abbas said to him, "Amir al-Mu’minun, I prefer to fight these men than to on Hajj." He begged him to go. Ibn ‘Abbas was in charge of the Hajj that year.

It is confirmed that al-Hasan, al-Husayn, Ibn az-Zubayr, Ibn ‘Umar and Marwan were all armed to the teeth when they entered the house. ‘Uthman said, "I beg you to return and put down your weapons and stay in your houses."

182. Ibn Kathir said in ‘The Beginning and the End’ (7:181), "The siege continued from the end of Dhu’l-Qa’da until Friday, the 18th of Dhu’l-Hijja. The day before that, ‘Uthman spoke to the Muhajirun and the Ansar who were with him in the house. They were about seven hundred and they included ‘Abdullah b. ‘Umar, ‘Abdullah b. az-Zubayr, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, Marwan and Abu Hurayra and a group of his clients. If he had let them, they would have defended him. He said, "I beg whoever owes me obedience to restrain his hands and to go to his house." He said to his friend, "Whoever sheathes his sword is free." So the fighting from the inside cooled down while it was hot on the outside, until Shaytan completed what he had worked for and desired. The effect of the great atrocity on the people is clear enough. Look at what al-Baladhari quoted in the ‘Lineages of the Nobles’ (5:103) from al-Mada’ini from Salama b. ‘Uthman from ‘Ali b. Zayd from al-Hasan. He said, "'Ali came in one day to his daughters and they were wiping their eyes. He said, ‘Why are you weeping?’ They said, ‘We are weeping for ‘Uthman.’ He wept and said, ‘Weep then.’"

When Allah finished his business as it was finished and carried out His decree, it was known that the Truth would not leave people in a fruitless situation and that people after him who needed a khalif would have to look into his case. None after the first three Khalifs would be like the fourth in merit, knowledge, taqwa and the deen so allegiance was given to him. If it had not been for the speed of taking the Oath of Homage to ‘Ali, something would have befallen the mob there whose disruption would not have stopped. However, the Muhajirun and the Ansar decided on him and he thought that it was his duty. That is why he submitted to it.

In ‘The History’ of at-Tabari (5:155), Sayf b. ‘Umar at-Tamimi related from his shaykhs who said, "Madina remained for five days after the murder of ‘Uthman with al-Ghafiqi b. Harb as its Amir. They searched for someone who would respond to them and undertake to rule. They did not find anyone. The Egyptians went to Madina. When they met him, he parted from them and repeatedly declared himself free of them and their position. The Kufans looked for az-Zubayr and did not find him. They sent to him when he was relaxing and he parted from

them and declared himself free of them and their position. The Basrans sought out Talha. When he met them, he parted from them and declared himself free of their position. They sent to Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas and said, "You were one of the people of the Shura. We agree on you. Come forward and we will offer you allegiance." He sent to them, "I and Ibn `Umar have left it. I have no need of it." Then they came to `Abdullah b. `Umar and said, "You are the son of `Umar. Take command." He said, "This command is revenge. By Allah, I will not offer myself for it. Seek someone else."

At-Tabari (5:156) transmitted that ash-Sha`bi said, "The people came to `Ali while he was in the market of Madina. They said to him, "Stretch out your hand. We will give you homage." He said, "Do not be hasty. `Umar was a blessed man and he advised a council for it. Wait until the people gather and consult each other." The people left `Ali. Then one of them said, "If people go back to their cities with the murder of `Uthman and no one has undertaken to rule after him, we will not be protected from the disagreement of people and from the corruption of the community." They returned to `Ali. Al-Ashtar took his hand and `Ali grasped it. He said, "Is it after three? By Allah, if I were to leave it, you would have cast your eyes longingly on it for a time." So the common people offered him allegiance. The people of Kufa said, "the first to offer him allegiance was al-Ashtar." Sayf related from Abu Haritha Mihraz al-Abshami and from Abu `Uthman Yazid b. Asyad al-Ghassani said, "On Thursday, five days after the murder of `Uthman, the people of Madina gathered. They found that Sa'd and az-Zubayr had left and they found Talha in one of his gardens. When the people of Madina gathered for them, the people of Egypt said to them, 'You are the people of Shura. You take the Imamate and your command will be effective throughout the community. Look for a man and set him up. We will follow you.' They all said, 'We are pleased with `Ali b. Abi Talib.' `Ali said, 'Leave me and seek someone else.' They said, 'We ask you by Allah. Do you not see the turmoil? Do you not fear Allah?' He said, 'If I answer you, I will pursue you by what I know. If you leave me, I will be like one of you, although I will listen and obey you in the one you appoint to rule over you.' Then they parted on that note and they arranged a meeting for the next day (i.e. Friday). On Friday morning, the people were in the mosque. `Ali came and sat on the mimbar. He said, 'People, by an assembly and by permission, if this is your command. No one has a right to it until you command it. We parted yesterday with something. If you wish, I will sit for you. If not, I will not be angry with anyone.' They said, 'We will have that on which we parted yesterday.'"

These events and their details indicate that the homage to `Ali was like the homage of his brother before him. It came as it happened in its time. It proceeded from the pleasure of the community at that moment, not from some alleged bequest or imaginary illusory signs.

Talha gave him the Oath of Homage. People said, "A paralysed hand has given homage to `Ali. By Allah, this business is not over yet."

184. The one who spoke these words was Habib b. Dhu'ayb. At-Tabari related it (5:153) from Abu'l-Mulayh al-Hudhali.

If it is said that they both gave homage....

185. i.e. Talha and az-Zubayr.

....under compulsion, we say, "Far be it that they should be forced, either them or the one to whom they gave allegiance. Even if they were compelled, that would have no effect because the oath of homage is effected and completed by one or two and it is binding for whomever gives homage, after that he is forced to do that by the Shari`a. If they had not taken the homage, that would not have had any effect on them nor on the homage offered to the Imam.

186. Qadi Ibn al-`Arabi confirmed that this judgment of the Shari`a in the oath of homage. That did not come from his opinion. Imam Abu Bakr al-Baqillani had some fitting words in the Introduction, p.231.

As for the one who said, "A paralysed hand and the business is not over yet," that was the opinion of the speaker that Talha was the first to offer allegiance. It was not like that.

187. You know that the people of Kufa say that al-Ashtar was the first to offer allegiance. If the hand of Talha had been the first to offer allegiance, it would have had greater blessing because that was a hand which had defended the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. The hand of al-Ashtar was one that was still wet with the blood of the martyr who had been given the good news of the Garden.

If it is said that Talha said, "I gave homage while the sword was on my neck,"

188. i.e. The sword was on my neck because of the state of fear which prevailed in Madina after the murder of the Amir al-Mu`minun `Uthman.

We say, "This hadith is fabricated by the one who uses "Qafa" in the dialect as "Qafi", as he made "Hawa" into "Hawi". That is the dialect of Hudhayl, not of Quraysh.

189. It is further from the dialect of Quraysh than the dialect of Hudhayl. Ibn al-Athir said in the End (the subject of dialects) that it is the Tayy dialect. They double the ya' of the first person.

It is a lie which is not to be considered.

As for their words, "A paralysed hand", if that is sound, one does not pay any attention to it. A hand paralysed by protecting the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, has every business completed for it. He is protected by it from every disliked thing.

190. Talha was one of the group who pledged themselves to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, to the death on the Day of Uhud when the muslims were routed. They were steadfast and stayed with him. Malik b. Zuhayr al-Jashami shot an arrow meant for the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He did not err in his shooting. Talha kept it from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and

grant him peace, with his hand. That was why he was paralysed in his hand from his little finger. A man from the Banu `Amir was dragging his spear while he was mounted on a bay horse with a blaze. He was armed to the teeth. He shouted, "I am the one who has said farewell. Show me Muhammad!" Talha struck the hamstring of his horse and it put its tail between its legs. Then he took his spear and he did not miss. The man made a noise like an ox. Talha kept his foot on the man's cheek until he was dead. His two daughters, `A'isha and Umm Ishaq said, "Our father was wounded 24 times over his entire body at Uhud. He fainted. In spite of that, he still carried the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when his tooth was broken and al-Qahqahri brought him back. Whenever any of the idol worshippers met them, he fought to defend him until he got him back to the people. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, whenever he saw Talha, "Whoever wants to look at a martyr walking on the face of the earth should look at Talha b. `Ubaydullah." Abu Nu`aym al-Isbahani related that. When Abu Bakr mentioned the day of Uhud, he said, "That was the day of Talha." `Ali b. Abi Talib heard a man saying after the Battle of the Camel, "Where is Talha?" `Ali scolded him. He said, "You were not present on the Day of Uhud. I saw him while he was defending the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, with his own body while the swords were covering him. He used himself as a shield for the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace." Ibn `Asakir related it (7:78) by way of Ibn Mundah from Talha. He said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, called me Talha al-Khayr (the good) on the Day of Uhud. He called me Talha al-Fayyad (the Bountiful) in the Battle of `Usra. It was Talha al-Jud (the Generous) on the Day of Hunayn."

The matter was completed as it should be and the decree was carried out after that according to it. The innovator is ignorant of that and fabricated a proof against it.

If it is said that they offered him allegiance provided that he kill the murderers of `Uthman, we say that this is not a valid precondition of the homage. They offer him homage provided that he rules by the truth. The person who seeks blood is summoned and the one from whom it is demanded is summoned. The claim is presented and an answer is given. If there is clear proof, then judgment takes place. As for taking allegiance provided that he attack a person by a general statement or by uninformed action or by hearing some words, that is not part of the deen of Islam.

191. Look at the Introduction by al-Baqillani (p. 231, 235 and 236). The reality of the position of `Ali with the murders of `Uthman was that when they gave him homage, they held the reins of authority in Madina. The state of terror which was prevalent then did not allow `Ali or anyone else the power to take a position with them in any way like the position the Companions had when `Ubaydullah b. `Umar killed al-Hurmuzan, in spite of the great difference between the blood of the Amir al-Mu'minin, the Rightly-Guided Khalif and the magian prisoner of war who said that he had become muslim after he was captured. When `Ali moved from Madina to Iraq in order to be near Syria, `Uthman's murderers moved with him, especially the people of Kufa and Basra among them. When they went to Basra and

Kufa, they were in the fortress of their strength and the pride of their tribes. There is no doubt that `Ali proclaimed himself free of them and that he wanted to reach an understanding with the People of the Camel with whatever agreement was possible in the business. `Uthman's murderers started the battle between the army of `Ali and the army of the People of the Camel. The People of the Camel were able to kill the Egyptians among the murderers of `Uthman with the exception of one of the Banu Sa'id b. Zayd Manah b. Tamim. His tribe protected him.

When the business developed so that blood was shed, `Ali was put in a position where he needed the force of these men, although they were known to be the murderers of `Uthman. They were led by al-Ashtar and men like him. Most of them turned against `Ali later and attacked him, claiming that he was a kafir. The `ulama' of the sunna and the historians say that Allah set an ambush for the murderers of `Uthman. He took revenge on them by killing them and punishing them one by one, even those who lived a long time until the time of al-Hajjaj. They ended by having their blood shed as a repayment for what their hands had done. Allah is the most just of the judges.

The `Uthmanis said, "A group of the Companions held back from him. They included Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Muhammad b. Maslama, Ibn `Umar, Usama b. Zayd and others like him."

We said, "As for his homage, they did not hold back from it. As for helping him, some people refrained from doing that. They included those you have mentioned because it was a question of ijtihad. Each one did ijtihad and acted by his opinion and reached his position."

192. Look at the Introduction by al-Baqillani, pp. 233-234.

Disaster

Some people relate that when the pledge of allegiance to `Ali was completed, Talha and az-Zubayr asked `Ali for permission to go to Makka.

193. `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab was one of those who asked him for permission to go to Makka. The reason for that was that when the oath of homage to `Ali was finished, `Ali decided to fight the people of Syria. He delegated the people of Madina to go with him. He said, "I am a man of the people of Madina. If they go, I will go with them in full obedience. But I will not go out to fight this year." Then Ibn `Umar made provisions and left for Makka (Ibn Kathir, 7:230). Al-Hasan b. `Ali opposed his father about going out to fight the people of Syria. `Ali left him in Madina as you will see later.

`Ali said, "Perhaps you mean to go to Basra and Syria?" They swore that they would not do that.

194. The words of `Ali to them, and their path to them, are part of what the perpetrators of the disaster and their transmitters added.

`A'isha was at Makka.

195. She and the Mothers of the Believers went to Makka when the attackers prevented water from reaching the Amir al-Mu'minin, `Uthman. He began to ask people for water. Umm Habiba brought water to him and they treated her with contempt. They struck the face of her mule and cut the rope of the mule with the sword (at-Tabari, 5:127). The Ummahat al-Mu'minin prepared to go on Hajj, to flee from the siege (Ibn Kathir, 7:229).

`Abdullah b. `Amr, the Governor of `Uthman over Basra and Ya'la b. Umayya, `Uthman's Governor over the Yemen, fled to Makka.

All of them met in Makka. They included Marwan b. al-Hakam. The Banu Umayya met and they wanted revenge for `Uthman's blood. Ya'la gave Talha, az-Zubayr, and `A'isha four hundred dirhams. He gave two hundred dinars. They wanted to go to Syria. Ibn `Amir stopped them and said, "You have not agreed to meet Mu'awiya. I have hirelings in Basra. Go to them instead."

They came to Ma' al-Hawa'ib.

196. Al-Hawa'ib is one of the springs on the road to Basra. Abu'l-Fath Nasr b. `Abdu'r-Rahman al-Iskandari said that Yaqut quoted him in 'The Collection of the Lands'. Abu `Ubayd al-Bakri said in his collection that it is some water near Basra on the Makkan road. It was named al-Hawa'ub bint Kalb b. Wabara al-Quda'iyya.

And the dogs barked. `A'isha asked and was told, "This is the water of al-Hawa'ib." She took his halter from him. That was because she had heard the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say, "Which of you will be the one with the thick-haired camel

197. "Adib.": adabb. There is assimilation for the sake of the rhyme. Al-Adabb means much hair on the face, Ibn al-Athir said that in 'The End'.

when the dogs bark at her at al-Huwa'ib?" Talha and az-Zubayr testified that that was not Ma' al-Hawa'ib and fifty men added to them.

198. They did not testify and `A'isha did not say that nor did the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say that. We will make that clear in its place in the Protection.

It was the first false testimony which had occurred in Islam.

199. The false testimony came from rabble who did not fear Allah, like Abu Zaynab and Abu'l-Mawra' as was already stated. It came from those who claimed to have the power to create a personality which Allah did not create - like whoever fabricated the name of Thabit, the client of Umm Salama, as was already stated. As for Talha and az-Zubayr, they had been promised the Garden by the Prophet of mercy, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who did not speak from passion. They had the highest character and they were too noble to themselves and to Allah to give false testimony. This lie against them came from men who

hated the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. It is not the first lie they made in Islam nor was it the last of the lies that they forged against him and his people.

`Ali went to Kufa.

200. He left Madina at the end of the month of Rabi' al-Akhir in 36 A H. in order to be near to Syria. His son al-Hasan wanted his father to stay in Madina and take it as the abode of the khalifate as the three Khalifs had done before him (at-Tabari, 5:171). Look at 5:163.

`Ali travelled from Madina to Iraq by way of ar-Rabadha, Fid, ath-Tha'labiya, al-Asawid and Dhu Qar. From ar-Rabadha, he sent Muhammad b. Abi Bakr and Muhammad b. Ja'far to Kufa. They came back to him while he was at Dhu Qar, saying that Abu Musa and the people of discernment among the Kufans wanted to refrain and not to go out. He sent al-Ashtar and Ibn `Abbas. Then he sent his son al-Hasan and `Ammar to win the people over to him. While he was on his way, `Uthman b. Hanif and Hukaym b. Jabala started to fight the People of the Camel. In al-Asawid, he received news of the death of Hukaym b. Jabala and the murderers of `Uthman. Then `Uthman b. Hanif came to `Ali while he was in ath-Tha'labiyya. `Uthman had his beard plucked out and he was helpless. `Ali set up his army in Dhu Qar. Then he went to Basra with his men, where the People of the Camel were located.

The two groups formed armies and met.

201. After `Ali reached Dhu Qarr, al-Qa'qa' b. `Amr undertook to attempt to reach an agreement, `Ali went to Basra with his men. The murders of `Uthman were quick to scotch the attempts at peace by starting the battle.

When `Ammar was near the howdah of `A'isha, he said, "What are you seeking?" They said, "We are seeking (revenge) for `Uthman's blood." He said, "On this day, Allah will kill the attacker and the one who seeks blood without a right."

202. The two groups were seeking an understanding and unity. As for the attackers, they were the murderers of `Uthman. Allah killed them all except for one. That will be made clear.

`Ali and az-Zubayr met. `Ali said to him, "Do you remember the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, that you would fight me?" Az-Zubayr left him and went back. His son tried to make him return and he would not do it. Al-Ahnaf followed him (az-Zubayr) and then murdered him.

203. Az-Zubayr's murderers were `Umayr b. Jurmuz, Faddala b. Habis and Nufay' at-Tamimi. Al-Ahnaf had too much fear of Allah to command them to kill him. He did hear them grumbling about the muslims fighting each other. Then they caught up to az-Zubayr and murdered him (at-Tabari, 5:197).

`Ali called to Talha from a distance and said, "What do you want?" He said, "Revenge for `Uthman's blood." He said, "May Allah fight you! We are entrusted with the blood of

`Uthman. Have you not heard the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when he said, 'Be a friend to the one who is his friend and be an enemy to the one who is his enemy and help the one who helps him and disappoint the one who disappoints him.' You are the first to offer me allegiance and then break it."

204. Talha was too true in belief and high in character to give allegiance and then break it. He wanted to unify things by investigating the murderers of `Uthman. `Ali agreed to this as will come in the following study. However, those who had committed a crime against Islam the first time when they attacked `Uthman were the enemies of Allah the next time by starting the fight between these two groups of muslims.

Protection

As for their going to Basra, that is correct without any doubt.

But why did they go? There is no sound transmission regarding that and there is no one who is to be trusted in it because the reliable individuals did not transmit anything. One does not listen to the words of the partisan, including the partisan who wants to attack Islam and find fault with the Companions.

It is possible that they went out to depose `Ali by something that seemed correct to them.

205. This possibility is remote in respect of those right-acting excellent ones. Nothing they did indicated this. All the events indicate that they were above it. This is what Ibn Hajar believed in 'The Opening of the Creator' (13:41-42). In the book, 'The Reports of Basra' by `Umar b. Shabba he quotes what al-Muhallab said, "No one transmitted that `A'isha and those with her debated `Ali out of desire for the Khalifate nor did any of them ask to be appointed Khalif."

That was because they had offered homage to him in order to still the rebellion, but they still sought the truth.

It is possible that they went out to get power over `Uthman's murderers.

206. This is what they used to say. However, they meant that they would reach an agreement with `Ali in any manner by which they could do that. This is what the Striving Companion al-Qa'qa' b. `Amr attempted to do. Both parties accepted him as will be mentioned.

It is possible that they went to join the groups of the muslims and to bring them together and refer them to the same law so that they would not be agitated and fight. This is what is sound and nothing else. The sound reports bring that.

As for the first possibilities, they are all false and weak.

As for their giving homage by force, that is false as we have clarified.

207. pp. 143-144.

As for their seeking to depose him, that is false, because deposing a person is only by a universal opinion, although it is possible that one or two may appoint. Deposing someone only occurs after evidence and clarification.

208. Look at the Introduction of al-Baqillani, pp. 211-212 and at p. 232 on the subject of deposing.

As for their going out because of the business of the murderers of `Uthman, that is weak because the root before it was unity. It is possible to combine both matters.

209. The combination of the two matters very nearly took place if it had not been that the Saba'ites foiled it. The People of the Camel came about `Uthman's murderers. That was all that they sought. However, they wanted to reach an understanding about it with `Ali because reaching an understanding with him was the first way to obtain their goal.

It is related that part of the rabble among the people had made them absent.

210. i.e. Talha and az-Zubayr and `A'isha were absent from Madina.

Talha, az-Zubayr and `A'isha, the Umm al-Mu'minin, may Allah be pleased with them, left hoping to return people to their source and to preserve the respect of their Prophet. As evidence against her,

211. When they induced her to go to Basra.

they quoted Allah ta'ala when he said, "There is no good in much of their conspiring secretly except for the one who commands sadaqa or something correct or to put things right between people (4:114)." The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, went out to make peace and he sent messengers for it. She hoped for the reward and used that story. She went out so that things would reach their proper conclusions.

The people of Basra became aware of them and those who had conspired against `Uthman egged the people on and said, "Go out to them so that you can see what they have come to do." `Uthman b. Hanif sent Hukaym b. Jabala.

212. `Uthman b. Hanif was an Ansari from Aws. When the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, emigrated to Madina, he was one of fifteen Awsi youths who joined Abu `Amr b. Sayfi when he went to Makka, because he was angry with the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Abu `Amr was called the "Monk" in the Jahiliyya. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, called him "al-Fasiq (the deviant)", (at-Tabari, 3:16). It is clear that `Uthman b. Hanif returned from Makka and became muslim before Uhud because it was the first of his battles (Isaba 2:249). The Shi'a claim that he rebelled against the Khalif of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, Abu Bakr as-Siddiq at the beginning of his Khalifate. ('The Revision of the Article', by al-Mamqani (1:197). He believed that he was one of those they lied about. He was in charge of the sector of the land of Iraq and collecting its jizya and kharaj taxes for `Umar. If

what they claim about his agitating against Abu Bakr is true, this would conflict with `Umar's appointment of him unless he had repented of that.

When homage was given to `Ali at the end of 35 A.H. and he chose his governors at the beginning of 36 A.H., he appointed `Uthman b. Hanif over Basra (at-Tabari, 5:161). When the People of the Camel reached al-Hafir, about four miles from Basra, `Uthman b. Hanif sent `Imran b. Husayn al-Khuza'i, the bearer of the banner of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, for Khuza'a on the Day of the Conquest of Makka, to them to investigate them for him. When he came back to him and mentioned his conversation with the People of the Camel `Uthman b. Hanif told him, "Advise me, `Imran." He told him, "I am not going out, so you should refrain". `Uthman said, "I will stop them until the Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali comes." Hisham b. `Amr al-Ansari, one of the people of jihad in the Conquest, indicated that he should make peace with them until `Ali's command came. `Uthman b. Hanif refused and summoned the people. "Put on your weapons!" `Uthman occupied himself with deceit (5:174-175). His end was unsuccessful and he lost power to the People of the Camel. Ibn Hanif was captured by the mob and his beard was plucked out. Then the People of the Camel rescued him from them. He retreated to the army of `Ali which was in ath-Tha'labiyya and then in Dhu Qar. This was `Uthman b. Hanif and his position with the People of the Camel. As for Hukaym b. Jabala, the reader already knows that he was one of those who murdered the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman. This was already stated earlier.

He met Talha and az-Zubayr at az-Zabuqa, and Hukaym was killed.

213. Az-Zabuqa: a place near Basra. The first stage of the Battle of the Camel took place there after Talha, az-Zubayr and `A'isha had spoken in al-Murbadd. As for the death of Hukaym b. Jabala, that was after the first battle which ended in the victory of the People of the Camel and they had power in Basra. Hukaym b. Jabala was insolent in this new situation and he fought with three hundred of his helpers until he was killed.

If he had gone out as a submitting muslim and not as a resistor,

214. i.e. fighting.

nothing would have happened to him. What good did he have in defence? What was he defending? They did not come as fighters or rulers. They were working for peace and desired to bring things together. Whoever went out to them and opposed them and fought them, opposed their goal as is done in all journeys and goals.

When they reached Basra, the people met them in a group....

215. Murbadd of Basra: the place where the camel-market was held, outside of the city. Then it was the place where the poets boasted and the assemblies of the orators were held. Then the buildings of Basra expanded and al-Murbadd became part of its inhabited areas. It was one of its most glorious streets and its market was one of its greatest markets. It became an immense quarter, full of people. When the position of Basra declined and its buildings grew old, it

dwindled. Al-Murbadd became separate from it until there were three miles between it and Basra in the time of Yaqt. Al-Murbadd is a ruin. It is like a city isolated in the middle of the desert. The location of Basra at that time was near the place of the modern suburb, az-Zubayr.

....at the upper part of Al-Murbadd. There were so many of them that if a stone had been thrown, it would have fallen on a man's head. Talha spoke, az-Zubayr spoke, and `A'isha spoke, may Allah be pleased with all of them.

216. The People of the Camel were on the right of al-Murbadd and `Uthman b. Hanif and those with him were on the left of it. At-Tabari (5:175) gave a summary of the speeches of Talha, az-Zubayr, and `A'isha. He quoted that from Sayf b. `Umar at-Tamimi from his shaykhs. They are the historians who have the best knowledge of events in Iraq.

There was a great uproar.

217. Because those who were on the left spoke while Talha and az-Zubayr were speaking. They said, "They have split! They are treacherous! They are speaking lies and command what is false! They gave homage and now they come saying this!" Those who were on the right were saying, "They are truthful! They are dutiful! They speak the truth and command the truth!" People broke up and threw pebbles at each other and spoke sharply. However, when `A'isha finished her speech, those with the Camel were firm in their constancy, but the people of `Uthman b. Hanif split into two groups. One group said, "She spoke the truth, by Allah, she is pious and has brought what is correct." The others said, "You lie! We do not recognise what you say." They broke up and threw pebbles at each other.

Talha said, "Be quiet," They began to pester him and would not be silent. He said, "Shame, shame. A bed of fire and flies of ambition!" Then turned back without having clarified things.

218. When `A'isha saw what the helpers of `Uthman b. Hanif did, she went down with the people of the right side, they left Ibn Hanif and stood elsewhere. Some of those who were with Ibn Hanif went with `A'isha, others remained with `Uthman b. Hanif (at-Tabari, 5:175).

They went down to the Banu Nahd, and people threw stones at them until they had descended the mountain.

219. At-Tabari (5:176-177) has a fine description which Sayf b. `Umar at-Tamimi transmitted from his two shaykhs, Muhammad b. `Abdullah b. Suwad b. Nuwayra and Talha b. al-A'lam al-Hanafi about the sound position of the People of the Camel in this battle and the excess of Hukaym b. Jabala when he started the fight. They both said, "`A'isha commanded her companions and they went to the right, to the cemetery of the Banu Mazin. Then night separated the two groups. The following day, the People of the Camel moved to the side of Dar ar-Razq. In the morning, `Uthman b. Hanif and Hukaym b. Jabala renewed the fight. Hukaym continued to curse the Umm al-Mu'minin, `A'isha, and he killed the men and women who censured him for that. `A'isha's herald told people not to fight, they refused. When evil touched them and held to them, then the companions of `A'isha called for peace.

Talha, az-Zubayr and `Uthman b. Hanif, the Governor of `Ali over Basra, met. They agreed in writing between them not to fight, that `Uthman had the House of the Amirate, the Mosque, and the Treasury and that Talha and az-Zubayr could stay wherever they wished in Basra and the two parties would not turn against each other until `Ali had come.

220. The text of the peace treaty is in 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:177). When `Ali heard what had happened, he wrote to `Uthman b. Hanif, describing him as a failure. Talha and az-Zubayr gathered the people and went to the mosque. They waited for `Uthman b. Hanif. He was late and did not attend. Turmoil grew in the mosque from the rabble of Basra, the followers of Hukaym b. Jabala. That made some people react and they went to `Uthman b. Hanif to summon him. The people trampled on him and plucked out his beard. Mujashi' b. Mas`ud as-Sulami, the leader of Hawazin, the Banu Sulayman and some members of the tribes of Basra, told them to do that, (at-Tabari, 5:178).

It is related that Hukaym b. Jabala opposed them and he was killed after the truce.

221. The clarification of that is in 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:179-182).

`Ali came to Basra

222. He camped in a place there called az-Zawiya. The People of the Camel camped in a place called al-Furda.

and they drew near so as to see each other.

223. In the place where the castle of `Ubaydullah b. Ziyad is located. That was Thursday in the middle of Jumada al-Akhira, 36 A.H. (at-Tabari, 5:199). The lofty Companion al-Qa'qa' b. `Amr at-Tamimi stood between the two groups attempting intelligent mediation. The People of the Camel answered him and `Ali submitted to that as well. `Ali sent to Talha and az-Zubayr saying, "If you still hold to what you told al-Qa'qa' b. `Amr, then hold off until we come and investigate this matter." They sent to him, "We hold to what we told al-Qa'qa' b. `Amr regarding peace between the people." Ibn Kathir said in 'The Beginning and the End' (7:239), people were reassured and tranquil. Each group gathered with its people. In the evening, `Ali sent `Abdullah b. `Abbas to them. They sent Muhammad b. Talha as-Sajjad to `Ali. They all decided on peace and spent the best night they had ever spent in wellbeing. Those who had agitated in the business of `Uthman spent the worst night they had ever spent. They were looking in the face of destruction. They began to consult each other for the entire night until they agreed to start the war secretly. They concealed that, fearing that the evil they desired would become known. They went out in the dark of night so that their neighbours would not be aware of them. They slipped into that business. As well as 'The History' of Ibn Kathir, look at 'The History' of at-Tabari (5:202-203) and 'The Path of the Sunna' (2:185 and 3:225 & 241). That is how they started the war between `Ali and his brothers, az-Zubayr and Talha. The People of the Camel thought that `Ali had deceived them. `Ali thought that his brothers had deceived him. Each of them had too much fear of Allah to do that even in the

Jahiliyya. How then could they do it after they had reached the highest rank of the qualities of the Qur'an?

The people of the sects did not leave them alone. They hastened to shed blood and the war started. There was clamour in the mob. All of that was done so that there would not be a clear proof and the state would not be clarified and the murderers of `Uthman could remain hidden. If one man in the army can pervert its direction, then how is it when there are a thousand perverting it?

It is related that when Marwan saw Talha in the ranks, he said, "We do not seek for traces after finding the source." and that he shot his arrow and killed him.

224. The bane of reports are their transmitters. In Islamic knowledges, there is a cure for the bane of false lies. Every person who relates a report is demanded by Islam to specify his source according to the rule, "From where did you get this?" No community knows precision like this in seeking only the sources of reports as the muslims knew it, especially the people of the Sunna among them. This report from Talha and Marwan is "picked up." Neither his father nor his Companion is known. Since no one reliable transmitted it with a known isnad from reliable men, Qadi Ibn al-`Arabi can say with deep conviction, "Who knows this except the One who knows the Unseen Worlds?"

Who knows this except the One who knows the Unseen Worlds since no reliable source transmitted it?

It was related that he was hit by an arrow at the command of Marwan, not that Marwan himself shot it.

225. This claim is like the previous claim from az-Zubayr that al-Ahnaf was the one who commanded his murder.

Ka'b b. Suar brought out a Qur'an which was open in his hand, begging the people by Allah not to shed blood.

226. Ka'b b. Suwar al-Azdi was the first of the Qadis of the muslims in Basra. The Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar appointed him. Ibn `Abdu'l-Barr said, "He was a muslim in the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, although he did not see him."

An arrow struck and killed him.

227. Ibn `Asakir (7:85) said in the biography of Talha, "`A'isha said to Ka'b b. Suwar al-Azdi, "Leave the camel, Ka'b. Bring the Book of Allah and call them to it." She gave him a Qur'an and he went forward to the people. The Saba'ites were in front of him. They feared that there would be peace. Ka'b confronted them with the Qur'an while `Ali was behind them, urging them (to accept). They refused to do anything but advance. When Ka'b called them, they shot him once and killed him. Then they shot at the Umm al-Mu'minin. The first thing which she did when they refused was to say, "Oh people! Curse the murderers of

`Uthman and their parties." She began to supplicate and the people of Basra shouted out the curse. `Ali heard the invocation and said, "What is this shouting?" They said, "'A'isha is calling and the people of Basra are praying with her against the murderers of `Uthman and their parties." `Ali began to call, "Oh Allah, curse the murderers of `Uthman and their parties!" I said, "The men of right action of both parties shared in cursing the murderers of the Amir al-Mu'minin, the wronged martyr, in the very hour in which the murderers of `Uthman started the battle between the muslim men of right action.

Perhaps it was the same with Talha. It is known that in the strife and the slaughter of the battle, those who had feuds and rancour were able to undo bonds and break agreements. The terms were at hand and the promises were carried out.

228. Ibn `Asakir (7:86-87) quoted the words of ash-Sha`bi, "'Ali b. Abi Talib saw Talha fallen down in one of the valleys. He got down and wiped the dust from his face. Then he said, "Abu Muhammad, it pains me to see you in the dust in a valley under the stars of the sky. I complain to Allah of all my hidden faults." (Al-Asma'i said, i.e. my secrets and my sorrows which are inside of me.) He said, "Would that I had died twenty years before this day!" Abu Hubayba, the client of Talha, said, "I and `Imran b. Talha came to `Ali after the Camel. He greeted `Imran and brought him there. He said, 'I hope that Allah will put me and your father among those about whom it is said, "We stripped away all rancour in their hearts as brothers, they are on couches face to face."'" Al-Harith al-A'war (Abu Zuhayr al-Harith b. `Abdullah al-Hamdani al-Hawthi al-Kufi al-A'war, one of the great men of the Shi'a. Ash-Sha`bi and Ibn al-Madini said that he was a liar.) was sitting in a corner. He said, "Allah is too just to let us kill them when they will be our brothers in the Garden." `Ali said to him, "Go to the furthest and most remote land of Allah!" "Who will be there if Talha and I are not in the Garden?" Muhammad b. `Abdullah mentioned that `Ali took an inkwell and threw it at al-A'war but it missed him. Ibn al-Kiwa' (`Abdullah b. Abi Awfa al-Yashkuri, one of those who formed the sedition after `Uthman. After Siffin and the Arbitration, he was at the head of the Kharijites. He returned to `Ali before the Battle of Nahrawan.) said to him, "Allah is too just for that." `Ali went at him with a stick and beat him. He said to him, "You! You have no mother! Your companions deny this?!"

If it is said, why did `A'isha go out when the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had told them in the Hajj of Farewell, "After this, confinement (busr) will appear."

229. In the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (2:446, first edition) from the hadith of Salih, the client of Tawa'ma from Abu Hurayra that when the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, went on Hajj with his wives, he said, "It is this Hajj. The time of the appearance of confinement comes after it." In it (5:218, first edition) there is the hadith of Waqid b. Abi Waqid al-Laythi from his father that he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said to his wives in this Hajj, "After this, confinement will appear." The hadith of Abu Waqid is in the chapter of 'The Obligation of the Hajj' from 'The Book of Practices in the Sunan' of Abu Da'ud (book 11, chap.1). 'Husur' is the plural of 'hasir', i.e. staying in the

house. Ibn Kathir transmitted it in 'The Beginning and the End' (5:215), saying that it is an indication by the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, that he himself announced his death to them and that this would be his last Hajj, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. In it, he does not commend that they should not leave confinement for a Hajj or a requirement or to make peace between people. The enemies of the Companions quoted this hadith as an absolute prohibition. Qadi Ibn al-'Arabi considered that to be a lie because it is quoted in order to use it in a manner other than that desired by the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

We say that he related two hadith to a woman. If she denies it, then there are four. Oh intellects of women! Did I not enjoin you not to relate false hadith? We already told you about the soundness of 'A'isha's presentation of the proof.

230. In the research on 'The Aspects of Excellence and Preference' from 'The Book of the Imamate and Preference', included in part 4 of 'The Fisal', p. 134, Imam Ibn Hazm quoted his shaykh Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Khawzi from Ahmad b. al-Fadl ad-Dinawari from Muhammad b. Jarir at-Tabari that 'Ali b. Abi Talib sent 'Ammar b. Yasir and al-Hasan b. 'Ali to Kufa when the Umm al-Mu'minin went to Basra. When they came there, people gathered to both of them in the mosque. 'Ammar spoke to them and told them that 'A'isha, the Umm al-Mu'minin, had gone out to Basra. Then he said to them, "I tell you, by Allah, I know that she is the wife of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, in the Garden, as she was his wife in this world, but Allah has tested you by her so that you either obey her or obey him." Masruq (or Abu'l-Aswad) said to him, "Abu'l-Yaqathan, we are with those who are promised the Garden rather than those who are not promised it." 'Ammar was silent.

Why do you say what you do not know? You repeat something you should disassociate yourself from, as if you did not understand. "The worst of beasts with Allah are the deaf and dumb who do not understand."

As for what you mentioned about the testimony regarding Ma' al-Hawa'ib, you have committed the greatest sin....

231. Hub: wrong action, sin.

...in mentioning it. There is absolutely nothing in what you mentioned. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not utter that hadith. Those words did not occur nor did anyone testify to them. You have written your testimonies with this falsehood and you will be questioned.

232. The location of al-Hawa'ib was made clear. The words which they ascribe to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and which they claim that 'A'isha said when she reached that water do not have a place in the volumes of the Sunna. We saw that report with at-Tabari (5:170). We saw that he related from Isma'il b. Musa al-Fazari (and he

is a man about whom Ibn `Adi said, "They objected to an excess in him towards the Shi`a.") This Shi`i related it from `Ali b. `Abbas al-Azraq (and an-Nasa`i said that he was weak). He related it from Abu'l-Khattab al-Hijri (Ibn Hajar said in the Taqrib at-Tadhib that he is unknown). This unknown al-Hijri related it from Safwan b. Qabisa. Al-Ahmasi (adh-Dhahabi said in 'The Balance of Harmony' that he is unknown). This is the report of al-Hawa'ib.

It is based on a bedouin. They claimed that they met him on the desert road. He had a camel which they liked and they wanted it to be `A'isha's camel, so they bought it from him. The man went with them until they reached al-Hawa'ib. He heard these words and related them, although his name (i.e. the bedouin who owned the camel) is not known nor do we know whether he is one of the liars or the truthful. It is clear to me that he is neither one of the liars or the truthful. It is clear to me that he is neither one of the liars nor one of the truthful because he is a fictional man who did not exist because the name of `A'isha's camel was `Askar. Ya'la b. Umayya brought it from Yemen and `A'isha rode it from Makka to Iraq. She was not walking on her feet so that they should buy this camel for her from this bedouin whom they claim to have met in the desert. They ascribed this silly story to him so that they could say that Talha and az-Zubayr, who were promised the Garden by the one who did not speak from passion, had given false testimony. If we thought that it was permitted to transmit weak reports, opposite this report we would transmit a report which Yaqut quoted in 'The Collection of the Lands' (Subject: al-Hawa'ib) from Sayf b. `Umar at-Tamimi. He said that the one at whom the dogs of al-Hawa'ib barked was Umm Azml Sulma bint Malik al-Fazariyya who led the apostates between Zafr and al-Hawa'ib. These muslims captured her and she was given to `A'isha who freed her. This statement was made about her. This report is weak and the report which they related from `A'isha is weaker still. This lie continues like goods which are bartered by those who do not fear Allah.

Disaster

The war took place between the people of Syria and the people of Iraq.

233. In a place called Siffin, close to ar-Ruqqa on the shore of the Euphrates at the end of the borders of Iraq. It is the beginning of Syrian territory. `Ali went there with his armies at the end of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 36 A.H.

One side called for homage to `Ali and unity on the Imam, and the others called for power over `Uthman's murderers. They said, "We will not offer allegiance to the one who gives refuge to the murderers."

234. When `Ali finished the Battle of the Camel and left Basra for Kufa, he entered it on Monday, 12th of Rajab. He sent Jarir b. `Abdullah al-Bajili to Mu`awiya in Damascus to call him to obey. Mu`awiya gathered the leaders of the Companions, the generals of the armies, and the aides of the people of Syria and he consulted them about what `Ali demanded. They

said, "We will not give him allegiance until he kills `Uthman's murderers or surrenders them to us." Jarir took that back to `Ali. `Ali appointed Abu Mas`ud `Uqba b. `Amr over Kufa and left it. The army was at an-Nukhayla, the beginning of the road to Syria from Iraq. Some people indicted that he should remain in Kufa and send someone else to Syria. He refused. Mu`awiya heard that `Ali had prepared and gone out himself to fight him. His men advised him to go out himself. The Syrians went towards the Euphrates in the direction of Siffin. `Ali advanced with his army to that place. `Ali's army had one hundred and twenty thousand and the army of Mu`awiya was seventy thousand. The Battle started in Dhu'l-Hijja, 36 A.H. and the fighting resumed later. Seventy thousand men were killed in this war. There were ninety battles in one hundred and ten days. This war was distinguished by noble courage in the fighting and noble dealings and contact during the truce and rest periods. Then the document of arbitration was written on the Ramadan at Duma al-Jandal in a place there called Adhruh.

`Ali used to say, "I do not empower someone who seeks a right over a person to carry out whatever he wants from him without any judgment or judge." Mu`awiya said, "We will not offer allegiance to one who is suspected or his killer. He is one of those who is sought, so how can we let him rule or give him allegiance. He is a khalif who has overstepped and given himself (power)?"

In the details about that, they mentioned some words which resulted in the use of letters,

235. i.e. Their ascription is a lie and it has no basis. Most of what you find in what the historians of the Shi'a relate comes from unknown transmitters or liars. The least of them in vehemence was Abu Makhnaf Lut b. Yahya. Adh-Dhahabi said, "Abu Makhnaf was a historian and a writer. He is not reliable. Abu Hatim and others left him." Ibn `Adi said about him, "A burning Shi'i who is one of their historians." Then others after him came who were worse for the History of Islam. They corrupted what the community knew of their past.

Copying statements, composing poetry, and making examples outside of the path of the salaf. The successors confirmed these things and their successors rejected them.

236. "Khalf" are the mischievous. In the revelation, "There succeeded after them a succession who inherited the Book, taking the goods of this lower world." "Khalaf" are the right-acting. There is the hadith, "This knowledge is carried by ever successor of its just ones. They remove the twisting of the fanatics, the plagiarism of the liars and the interpretation of the ignorant."

Protection

As for the war between them, that definitely took place. It is also known that this was the cause. As for `Ali being the one who was right in it because the claimant for blood cannot properly give judgment and the claimant's suspicion of the qadi does not necessitate that he attack him. He must seek his right from the judge. If the judgment is clear, he has the

judgment. If it is not, he is silent and patient. Allah has given judgment in many a right. If he does not have any deen, then he attacks him and he has an excuse in this world.

237. `Uthman's murderers were in `Ali's army. That is true and no one disputes that. Al-Ashtar, who was one of the leaders of those who attacked `Uthman, was one of those who did the most to kindle the war between the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who were in the army of `Ali and in the army of Mu`awiya. When `Ali asked Mu`awiya, the Companions and the Tabi'un who were with him to give him allegiance, they appealed to him regarding `Uthman's murderers and demanded that he carry out the hadd of Allah on them. We already excused the Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali in this matter for when the murderers of `Uthman went with `Ali to Iraq, they were in the stronghold of their strength and the pride of their tribes. `Ali thought that if he killed them, that would open a door which he would not be able to close later. The lofty Companion al-Qa'qa' b. `Amr at-Tamimi pointed out this reality and he mentioned it to the Umm al-Mu'minin, `A'isha, and the two Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, Talha and az-Zubayr. They conceded his point and they excused `Ali. They agreed to come to an understanding with him which would lead them out of this civil strife. The murders of `Uthman quickly started the war between the two groups. Those who sought to carry out the hadd of Allah on the murderers of `Uthman were excused because they were seeking a right, whether they were from the People of the Camel or the people of Syria. `Ali was unable to carry out the hadd of Allah due to the well-known constraint in which he found himself. However, when `Uthman's murderers started the war between the first two groups in Basra, it would have benefited Islam if the war of Siffin had not started between the other two groups. The grandson of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, al-Hasan b. `Ali, did not want his father to leave Madina for Iraq since he feared that a war would start with the people of Syria. If `Ali had not moved from Kufa to prepare for this fight, Mu`awiya would not have moved a single inhabitant to fight. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (2:219), "Mu`awiya was not one of those who chose to start the war."

If `Ali was suspected of the murder of `Uthman, then every Companion of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, in Madina was suspected of it. There is little information that he killed him because a thousand men who came to kill `Uthman could not defeat 40,000 men..

Not a single man of the people of the Sunna suspected `Ali of the murder of `Uthman, not in our time nor in his time. That has already been discussed in this book. The only fact is that the murderers of `Uthman were with `Ali. `Ali had a position in relation to them, and he had his excuse between himself and Allah for that position. We all have the opinion of al-Qa'qa' b. `Amr that the position of `Ali was due to constraint. However, some historians from the Shi'a added reports to `Ali which imparted other than what his heart contained of love, pleasure, friendship and support for `Uthman during his trial. They behaved badly to `Ali when they wanted to behave badly to `Uthman. As for Mu`awiya and his group, they did not mention `Ali at all in the attack on `Uthman except by virtue of the connection of `Uthman's

murderers to him and his seeking their help. The murderers of `Uthman were those who behaved badly to Islam - to `Uthman and to `Ali as well. Allah will take their reckoning. If all the muslims had been like `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Khalid b. al-Walid in his resolution before the sedition got out of control and the reins had been taken from the hands of the men of intellect, then the business would not have gone to what it reached.

That would lead you to say that `Ali, Talha and az-Zubayr helped each other in the murder of `Uthman. What kept the Companions, both the Muhajirun and the Ansar and those who were counted among them and joined them from helping him?

There is the possibility that it was because they thought that these men sought a right and acted correctly. That would be a testimony against `Uthman, so the people of Syria had no statement. If they had refrained from it in order to mock the deen and they did not have any opinion about the situation nor any concern for Islam or the confusion which occurred in it, that would be apostasy and not rebellion because weakness in the hudud of the deen and surrendering the sacred things of the Shari`a to waste is kufr. If they refrained, it was because they did not think that they should go beyond `Uthman's limit and what he indicated. What wrong action do they have in that? What proof do Marwan, `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, Ibn `Umar and these who helped him in his house have, since they came in and then left with weapons and arms while those who sought were outside watching? If they had had a force or could have sought refuge in a strong pillar, they would not have allowed anyone of them to see him or attack him. They were onlookers. If al-Hasan and al-Husayn, `Abdullah b. `Umar and `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr had stood in front of him, they would not have dared attack. If they had killed them, none of the attackers would have been left alive on the earth.

However, `Uthman surrendered himself. He was left to his opinion. It is a question of ijtihad as we already stated.

239. The subject has been dealt with earlier in text and commentary.

What could `Ali say after the homage had been completed for him and if the relative of `Uthman had come and told him, "The Khalif was faced by a thousand persons who killed him. They are known"? What could he say except, "I am firm, take." On that day he was firm unless they had proven that `Uthman deserved to be killed.

240. The author admitted that the proof rested with the one who had the means because the crime was famous and the criminals were public in their outrage and made no attempt to conceal it. How could justice be carried out and who would undertake to see to it while the city of the Messenger was humbled under the force of the terror? Who would guarantee `Ali's life for him when he gave this judgment? Aren't those the very ones who discussed killing him when they formed their plot in Dhu Qar after `Ali's speech which he gave to the new men before they went to Basra (at-Tabari, 5:165)? Wasn't al-Ashtar angry with the Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali after the Battle of the Camel because he had appointed his nephew,

`Abdullah b. `Abbas, over Basra and did not appoint al-Ashtar. Then he left him in anger and `Ali caught up to him and corrected his evil (at-Tabari, 5:194). Didn't the Kharijites who came out against `Ali grow from this kernel? When `Ali was killed, wasn't he killed by a weapon similar to the one which killed `Uthman?

By Allah, company of muslims, you know that what they said about `Uthman was nothing but injustice. The moment gave the seeker power, was useful to the seeker in that situation and made it easier for him to reach the one he sought.

241. The moment gave the seeker power, even if there had been a force in Madina for which `Uthman wished. It is said that a force from the army of Syria had left Damascus, heading for Madina. When the news of the martyrdom of the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman reached them, they went back. Madina remained in the power of the murderers of `Uthman until the homage was given to `Ali. If these murderers had yielded to the judgments of this homage which held no harm for them, there is no doubt that they would have turned into savage beasts if the judgments of Allah had been given against them and the hudud had been carried out for the atrocious crime which they had committed.

That which refutes the lie in that, is, that when the command went to Mu`awiya, he did not kill any of `Uthman's murderers unless it was by a judgment - not counting those who were killed in a war (by interpretation) or those who intrigued against him as was said.

242. The force of Allah and His lofty justice fell on most of `Uthman's murderers. None of them were left during Mu`awiya's rule except for the fugitive who fearfully sought for a stone where he could hide. Their power vanished and their evil decreased. Mu`awiya had no need to pursue them.

This lasted until the time of al-Hajjaj. Then they were killed by more suspicion, not by reality.

243. The author alluded to the incident with `Umayr b. Dabi and Kumayl an-Nakh'i. That report was already given.

It is clear to you that they became liable for what they did.

It will cool your breasts to know that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, mentioned the sedition. He indicated and clarified them. He warned about the Khawarij and he said, "The group closest to the truth will kill them."

244. The name Khawarij has come about a group who went out against `Ali b. Abi Talib and his company because he had accepted arbitration. They said that the judgment of Allah was clear and that this arbitration was not necessary. Their slogan was "Only Allah had judgment." They were also called the al-Haruriyya, from a village in Kufa called Harura'. They went out to it. The Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali, may Allah be pleased with him, fought them in a famous battle called the Battle of an-Nahrawan. He defeated them and killed many of them. However, he was not able to eradicate them. Then they worked out a ruse which killed

him at the hand of `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Muljam, may Allah give him what he deserves!

The Kharijites claimed that `Uthman was a kafir by his changes and alterations and that `Ali was a kafir when he accepted arbitration. They attacked the People of the Camel. All of that came from their ignorance and misguidance.

Part of their theory was that the khalifate was by the free choice of the muslims. In that, they opposed the Shi'a who said that the khalifate was confined to the House of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. That was also opposed to the people of the Sunna who said that the Khalifate was in Quraysh when they were present and proved to be worthy. That is the truth.

The Kharijites, in spite of their misguidance and twisting, were not known to lie like the Rafidites who did not recognise sound hadith and who fabricated false hadith which they ascribed to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. They also interpreted the ayats of the Noble Qur'an according to their passions.

In the 'Sahih' of Muslim (book 12, hadith 150, pt. 3, p. 113) from the hadith of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, "An arrow will penetrate a group of the muslims. They will be killed by the group closest to the truth."

He had it clear that each group was connected to the truth. However, the party of `Ali was closer to it.

245. The people of the Muhammadan Sunna owe it to Allah to believe that `Ali and Mu'awiya and the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who were with them, were all people of the truth. They were sincere in that. Their disagreement was based on ijtihad just as mujtahids can disagree in any subject open to dispute. They are rewarded for being right and being wrong because of their sincerity in their ijtihad. The reward of the one who is right is many times greater than the reward of the one who is wrong. Apart from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, no human being is protected from error. Some of them err in some things and are right in others. It is like that with other people. Whoever renounced the truth by provoking the first sedition against `Uthman is not considered to be one of the two parties who had the truth, even if he fought with them and attached himself to them because those who stained their hands, intentions and hearts with the unjust attack on the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman, whoever they were, deserved to have the Islamic hadd carried out on them. In the situation here, no one was able to do that, and their presence inflamed the fighting between the right-acting muslims. Whenever these men sensed the muslims' resolve for peace and brotherhood, as they did in the Battle of the Camel, they decided to persist in criminality as long as they could. When we say that both parties were among the people of the truth, we mean the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who were with the two parties and those Tabi'un who went with them, and who were based on the sunna of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. We think that

`Ali, who was promised the Garden, had a higher station with Allah than Mu`awiya, the uncle of the believers and the Companion of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds. Both of them were people of excellence. When the parties of the people of evil infiltrated them, the one who did an atom's weight of good will see it and the one who did an atom's weight of evil will see it. Ibn Kathir said in 'The Beginning and the End' (7:277) that `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Ziyad b. An'am ash-Sha'bani, the Qadi of North Africa (d. in 156), who was a man of right action and one of those who commanded the correct, said when he mentioned the people of Siffin, "There were Arabs who knew each other in the Jahiliyya. They met in Islam with zeal and the sunna of Islam. They counselled each other to be steadfast and they were ashamed to flee. They brought out their dead and buried them." Ash-Sha'bi said, "They are the people of the Garden. They met each other and none of them fled from the other."

Allah ta'ala said, "If two groups of the believers fight, make peace between them. Then if one of them is insolent against the other, then fight the insolent one until they come back to the command of Allah. If they come back, then make peace between them with justice and be fair. Allah loves the just." (49:9) He did not bring them out of "belief" by insolence through any interpretation nor did He strip the name "brothers" from them since He said after it, "The believers are brothers, so make peace between your brothers." (49:10)

He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said about `Ammar, "An attacking party will kill him."

246. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said that when they were building the mosque and people were moving one brick at a time while `Ammar was moving two bricks at a time. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, spoke these words about him, according to what Abu Sa'id al-Khudri related by `Ikrima, the client of Ibn `Abbas and `Ali b. `Abdullah b. `Abbas. It is in 'The Book of Jihad and Biography' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 56, chap. 17, pt. 3, p. 207). Mu`awiya knew that he himself would not attack in the war of Siffin because he did not bring it or start it. He only came to it after `Ali had left Kufa and camped his army in an-Nukhayla in order to go to Syria as was already stated. That is when `Ammar was killed. Mu`awiya said, "The one who brought him out killed him." The wrong action for all the muslims who were killed at the hands of the muslims since the time of `Uthman's murder, rests on `Uthman's murderers because they opened the door of sedition and because they stirred up anger in the breasts of the muslims against each other. As they were the murderers of `Uthman, so they killed all those who were killed afterwards. Those men included `Ammar and those who were better than `Ammar - like Talha and az-Zubayr, until the sedition came to the point where they murdered `Ali himself. They were part of his army and were in the group on which he was based. The hadith is one of the signs of prophecy. The two groups fighting in Siffin were all Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and were the pillars of the `Umma of Islam. The wrong action for all that took place in the seditions rests upon the attacking group, for whose sake every person killed, in the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin and what branched out from that, was killed.

He said about al-Hasan, "This son of mine is a master. Perhaps Allah will use him to make peace between two great parties of muslims." He recommended to him that he remove himself and make peace.

247. This will be discussed in the discussion on the peace between al-Hasan and Mu`awiya.

Similarly, it is related that the Prophet gave `Uthman permission in the dream to submit and break the fast with him that night.

248. The discussion was already given.

All of these are the things which happened because of the conflict. They are not the result of any method of fiqh nor are they considered to be part of the path of ijtiḥad in which the one who is right is rewarded ten times and the one who errs once.

249. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (2:219-220), "Mu`awiya was not one of those who chose to start the war. He was one of the people who most desired that there should be no fighting. Others were more eager to fight than him." People have different statements about the battle of Siffin. Some of them say that both of them were correct mujtahids as is stated by many of the people of kalam, fiqh, and ḥadith among those who say that every mujtahid is correct. They said that they were both mujtahids. This is the statement of many of the Ash`arites, the Karamiyya, the fuqaha' and others. It is the statement of many of the people of Abu Hanifa, ash-Shafi'i, Ahmad and others. The Karamiyya said that each was a correct Imam and that it is permitted that there be two Imams when there is a need for that. Some of them say that one of them was correct and does not specify who that was. This is the statement of one group. Some of them say that `Ali alone was correct and Mu`awiya was a mujtahid who erred as is stated by some groups of the people of kalam and the fuqaha' of the people of the four schools. These three statements are related by Abu `Abdullah Hamid, one of the people of Imam Ahmad and other people. They include those who say it would have been better for both groups not to fight. Fighting was a fight of civil war. It was neither obligatory nor recommended. Not fighting would have been better for both groups, even though `Ali was more entitled to the truth. This is the statement of Ahmad and most of the people of ḥadith and most of the Imams of the fuqaha'. It is the statement of the great Companions and those who followed them. That is the statement of `Imran b. Husayn, may Allah be pleased with them. He forbade the sale of weapons for that fight. He said, "It is selling arms in civil strife." That is the statement of Zayd, Usama b. Zayd, Muhammad b. Maslama, Ibn `Umar, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas and most of the rest of the first predecessors among the Muhajirun and the Ansar, may Allah be pleased with them. This is why it is the school of the people of the Sunna not to discuss the quarrels between the Companions. Their virtues are confirmed and their love and friendship are obligatory.

Do not pay any attention to a single letter of any of the riwayat which occur in the history books, except for what we mentioned. They are all false.

The Disaster of Arbitration

The people were arbitrary about the arbitration. They said what did not please Allah regarding it. When you look at it with the eye of virtue without belonging to any sect, you will see that it is lack of the deen which causes foolishness in the books of most people and firm ignorance in a few of them.

That which is sound is what the Imams like Khalifa B. Khayyat....

250. He is Imam Abu `Amr Khalifa b. Khayyat al-`Usfuri al-Basri, one of the vessels of knowledge and one of the shaykhs of Imam al-Bukhari. Ibn `Aki said about him, "He is honest in reports, truthful, one of the sure transmitters of the sunna." He died in 240 A.H.

and ad-Daraqutni....

251. He is Imam Abu'l-Hasan `Ali b. `Umar ad-Daraqutni (306-385). In addition to his majesty in hadith, he was one of the Imams of the Shafi'i fuqaha. He had pre-eminence in literature and the transmission of poetry. He came from Baghdad to Egypt to help Ibn Hanzaba, Kafur's wazir, to compose his 'Musnad'. The wazir went to great efforts to show esteem for him. `Abdu'l-Ghani b. Sa'id said, "The best people in discussion on the hadith of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, are three: `Ali b. al-Madini in his time, Musa b. Harun in his time, and ad-Daraqutni in his time."

....related. When the Iraqi group went out with one hundred while the Syrians had seventy or ninety thousand. They camped by the Euphrates at Siffin. They fought at the beginning of the day, on Tuesday, at the water. The people of Iraq gained possession of the water.

252. The fighting over the water was not serious. `Amr b. al-`As said on that day, "It is not just that we should have water while they are thirsty." Those in the Syrian army who pretended to stop the Iraqis from the water wanted to remind them that they had stopped the water from the Amir al-Mu'minin `Uthman during the calamity in his khalifate, even though he was the one who purchased the Well of Ruma from his own money so that his brother muslims would have water from it. After they shared in the water, they had some skirmishes in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, 36 A.H. Then there was a truce in Muharram, 37 A.H. The battles took place in Safar as the author will show.

Then they met on Wednesday, the 23rd of Safar and Thursday, Friday and Saturday night.

253. It was called the Night of Harir (Spitting). People fought until morning on that night.

The people of Syria raised copies of the Qur'an and they called for a truce. They all parted with the stipulation that each party should entrust its business to one man and the two men would judge between the two groups who both claimed to be right. Abu Musa....

254. The last commission of Abu Musa was when he was governor over Kufa. `Ali's herald came to urge the Kufans to take up arms and join `Ali's army in preparation for the fight they were anticipating with the people of the Camel in Basra and then with the helpers of Mu`awiya in Syria. Abu Musa was apprehensive that the blood of muslims would be shed at the instigation of fanatics. He reminded the community of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, of what their Prophet had said about civil strife: "The one who sits in it is better than the one who stands" Al-Ashtar left him speaking to the people in the mosque about the hadith of the Prophet. Then he hurried to the House of the Amirate and took possession of it. When Abu Musa returned there al-Ashtar prevented him from entering. He told him, "Retire from your rule." Abu Musa left them and chose to remain in a village called `Urd, far from the seditions and bloodshed. When the people had had their fill of bloodshed and were satisfied that Abu Musa had given the muslims good counsel when he forbade them to fight, they asked `Ali to make him the Iraqi representative in the arbitration because the state which he had called for was a state full of well-being. They sent for Abu Musa and brought him from his retirement.

....came from `Ali and `Amr b. Al-`As from Mu`awiya.

Abu Musa was a man of taqwa, culture, fiqh and knowledge, as we made clear in the 'Book of the Lamp of the Murids'. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, sent him to the Yemen with Mu`adh. `Umar appointed him and praised him for understanding.

255. He specified him in his famous letter on judgment, its adab, and its rules.

The pitiful "historical" group claim that he was dull-witted, weak in opinion and misled by words and that Ibn al-`As had shrewdness and skill and they made examples about his shrewdness to support the corruption they intended. Certain ignorant people followed each other in that and they wrote stories about it. Other companions were cleverer and shrewder than he was. They based that on the fact that when `Amr deceived Abu Musa in the story of the arbitration, he became known for shrewdness and cunning.

They said, "When they met at Adhruh at Duma al-Jandal,

256. Adhruh: a village in the precincts of ash-Shara which falls in the area between the lands of Eastern Jordan and Saudi Arabia in the southern ends of the Syrian desert.

and negotiated, they agreed that both men would be deposed.

257. It is true that when something is not well expressed and it is mixed with the defects of distortion, this can lead to presuming what is not true, to be true. Then disputes arise as to its judgment. The incident of arbitration and the words of those who falsify is part of that, when they say that Abu Musa and `Amr agreed to depose both men and that Abu Musa deposed both of them while `Amr was content to depose `Ali rather than Mu`awiya. The root of the distortion comes from the falsifiers ignoring the fact that Mu`awiya was not a khalif at that time, nor did he claim to be khalif, that `Amr would need to depose him. Abu Musa and `Amr

agreed to entrust the business of the khalifate over the muslims to those who were still alive among the notable Companions with whom the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was pleased when he died. The two arbiters agreed on that. That did not extend to Mu`awiya because he was not a khalif nor did he fight to get the khalifate. He was seeking to have the hadd-punishment carried out on those who had participated in the murder of `Uthman. When there was arbitration on the Imamate of the muslims and the two judges agreed to leave its investigation to the great Companions and their notable men, the arbitration of lands under his command which Mu`awiya administered by his authority, there was no arbitration regarding it with either deceit or cunning. Neither foolishness nor heedlessness disturbed it. There would have been a place for cunning or negligence if `Amr had announced in the result of the arbitration that he had appointed Mu`awiya to rule the believers and be the khalif of the muslims. This is not what `Amr announced nor did Mu`awiya lay any claim to that. No one in the past thirteen centuries had said that. The khalifate of Mu`awiya only began after he had made peace with al-Hasan b. `Ali. It ended with al-Hasan giving homage to Mu`awiya. From that day on, Mu`awiya was called the Amir al-Mu`minin. `Amr did not trick Abu Musa and did not deceive him because he did not give Mu`awiya anything new and he only confirmed what Abu Musa confirmed in the arbitration. He did not go beyond what they both agreed on. Iraq and the Hijaz and what was near to them remained under the authority of the one who had authority over them before. Syria and what was next to it remained under the authority of the one under whose authority it had been before. The Imamate was connected to what would arise from the agreement of the notable Companions. What wrong action did `Amr have in any of that? Whoever wants to understand events differently than how they occurred will understand them however he wishes. However, they are clear and evident for all who see them as they really are.

`Amr said to Abu Musa, 'Make your statement first.' He went and said, 'I have looked and `Ali is removed from command. Let the muslims look for themselves as I remove this sword from my neck (or from my shoulder).' He took it off his neck and placed it on the ground. `Amr went and placed his sword on the ground. He said, 'I have looked, and I confirm Mu`awiya in command....

258. What command? If it is continuation in the administration of the land which was already under his authority, the command was effective for both Mu`awiya and `Ali. Each of them remained in control of what he administered. If what was meant by the command was the general Imamate and the Amirate of the believers, Mu`awiya was not an Imam (i.e. the Khalif) so that `Amr could confirm him as such. We made this clear in the previous section. This is the point of the falsification which the historians of the forged lies mock. They mock all their readers and make them imagine that there were two khalifs or two Amirs over the believers and that the agreement between the two arbiters was to depose both of them and that Abu Musa deposed the two khalifs according to the agreement and that `Amr deposed one of them and let the other remain khalif, contrary to the agreement. This is all a lie, a falsehood, and slander. That which `Amr did was the same as Abu Musa did. He did not

differ from him in a single jot or iota. The command of the Imamate and the Khalifate or Amirate of the believers remained subject to the investigation of the Companions so that they could investigate what they thought on it, when they wanted and how they wanted. If the two groups had not demanded that they both carry out this task, they would not have turned to it, nor shown any opinion about it. If the position of Abu Musa in this great historical event was one of foolishness and failure, that would have been a disgrace for him in history. The generations after him understood his position to be one of his glories for which Allah wrote success and correctness for him. Dhu'r-Rimma the poet said, when he addressed his grandson Bilal b. Abi Burda b. Abi Musa,

Your father repaired the deen which people wanted later

when the house of the deen was cut off

The rope of the deen was strong in the days of Adhruh.

He repelled wars which pollinated the barren.

....as I put this sword of mine firmly on my neck.' and he girded it on. Abu Musa objected. 'Amr said, 'This is how we agreed.' Everyone broke up in disagreement."

Protection

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "All of these are clear lies. None of it took place. It is something about which the innovators report and the historians wrote for the kings. That was inherited by the people of insolence and public acts of rebellion against Allah and people of Innovations."

259. Islamic history did not begin to be written down except after the Umayyads had gone and states had been established whose men did not like to talk about the glories of that past and the good qualities of its people. The recording of Islamic history was undertaken by three groups: one group who sought ease of life and good fortune by drawing near to those who hated the Umayyads by what they wrote and compiled. Another group thought that devotions would only be obtained and one would only draw near to Allah by tarnishing the reputation of Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Uthman and all the Banu `Abdu Shams. A third group of the people of justice and the deen like at-Tabari, Ibn `Asakir, Ibn al-Athir and Ibn Kathir thought that part of justice was to compile the reports of the historians from all the schools and positions like Lut b. Yahya, the burning Shi'i and Sayf b. `Umar al-Iraqi al-Mu'tazili. Perhaps some of them were compelled to do that when they tried to please all of the areas whose power and position were felt. Most of them furnished the names of the transmitters of the reports which they quoted, so that the researcher would have some insight into every report and would be able to investigate the state of its transmitter. This legacy reached us, not in as much as it is our history, but because that provided ample material for study and research from which our

history could be derived. This is possible and easy when it is undertaken by someone who looks at the places of strength and weakness in these sources. The shrewd person can use it to discover the reality of what really happened and separate it from that which did not take place and content himself with the sound sources of the reports without the later additions to them. Reference to the books of the Sunna and the observations of the Imams of the community will make this task easy. Now is the time for us to carry out this duty which we have been very slow to undertake. The first person to wake up in our time to the machinations foisted off into the history of the Umayyads was the great Indian scholar, Shaykh Shibli an-Na'mani in his criticism of the books of Jurji Zaydan. Then the shrewd people among these who are fair began to study the realities. The truth became evident to them and other people. It was luminous and clear. When this effort continued in the path of the truth, it was not long until the muslims' understanding of their history changed and they perceived the secrets of the miracles which had taken place in their past.

The firm reliable Imams related that, when they met to look into this matter in a noble group of people which included Ibn `Umar and his like, `Amr dismissed Mu`awiya.

260. i.e. by his confirmation with Abu Musa that the Imamate of the muslims should be left for the notable Companions to investigate.

Ad-Daraqutni mentioned with his isnad to Hudayn b. al-Mundhir,

261. Ad-Daraqutni said: Ibrahim b. Human related to us from Abu Yusuf al-Falusi who is Ya'qub b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Jarir from al-Aswad b. Shayban from `Abdullah b. Mudarib from Husayn b. al-Mundhir (and Hudayn was one of `Ali's close friends who fought with him.)

"When `Amr retired Mu`awiya, Hudayn b. al-Mundhir came and struck his tent near the tent of Mu`awiya. This news reached Mu`awiya. He sent to him and said, 'I have heard such-and-such from `Amr. Go and see what is the case about what I have heard.'

262. i.e. his removing `Ali and Mu`awiya and his entrusting the matter to the great Companions.

I came to him and said, 'Tell me about the business which you and Abu Musa undertook. How did you act in it?' He said, 'The people said what they said about that, but by Allah, the business is not as they have stated.'

263. i.e. neither was dismissed nor appointed. The business was left to the notable Companions.

I said to Abu Musa, 'What do you think about this business ?' He said, 'I think that it rests with some people with whom the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was pleased when he died.' I said, 'Where will you put me and Mu`awiya?' He said, 'If you are asked to help, then you can help. If there is no need for both of you, then the

command of Allah has no use for you.' He said, 'It was that which Mu`awiya himself wove from it.' I came to him and told him, (i.e. Hudayn came to Mu`awiya and told him that) that what he had heard was exactly as he had heard it. He sent to Abu'l-A'war Adh-Dhawkani.

264. He is Abu'l-A'war as-Sulami (Dhakwan is a tribe of Sulaym). His name is `Amr b. Sufyan. He was one of the great generals of Mu`awiya. In the Battle of Siffin, al-Ashtar tried to get him to come out. He refused to do that because he did not think that al-Ashtar was one of his peers.

He had sent him to his horses. He went out with his horse at a gallop, saying, 'Where is the enemy of Allah? Where is this libertine?'

Abu Yusuf said,

265. i.e. al-Falusi. The transmitter of this report from al-Aswad to Shayban from `Abdullah b. Mudarib from Hudayn.

'I think that he said, "He meant to kill him."' `Amr went out to a horse under his tent and jumped naked on its back. He went out at a gallop towards the tent of Mu`awiya while he was saying, 'The grumbling she-camel is sometimes milked in the bowl.'

266. Ad-Dajur: The camel which grumbles and is distressed when it is milked. "The grumbling she-camel which grumbles can be milked to fill the vessel." They used it about the person of ill temper from whom compassion and kindness can be obtained. The miser can have property gotten from him.

Mu`awiya said, 'Yes. Sometimes she is light to the milker, smashes his nose and overturns his vessel.'"

267. "His hand was light with the arrows," i.e. active. "Rabidh" is light-footed in walking and quick-fingered in action. So-and-so with Rabidhat is someone who makes many mistakes in his words.

Ad-Daraqutni mentioned (with a proper isnad)...

268. He said, "Muhammad b. `Abdullah b. Ibrahim and Da'laj b. Ahmad related to us from Muhammad b. Ahmad b. an-Nadr from Mu`awiya b. `Amr from Za`ida from `Abdullah b. `Umar from Rib'i, etc. Rib'i was the son of Hirash al-`Abasi, Abu Maryam al-Kufi.

....from Rib'i from Abu Musa that `Amr b. al-`As said, "By Allah, if Abu Bakr and `Umar left this property while anything of it was lawful for them, we would overstep and fault their opinion. By Allah, they are not to be overstepped nor are they imperfect in opinion. If they are two men for whom this property, which we got after them, was forbidden, then we are destroyed. Oh Allah, the mistake has only come from us."

269. The author quoted this report to indicate `Amr's scrupulousness, his self-examination

and his calling attention to the path of the Salaf.

This was the beginning and end of the story. They turned from seducers and restrained those who howled. They left the path of those who broke agreements and went to the sunan of the guided. They restrained the tongues from those who went first to the deen. Beware, lest you be one of those destroyed on the Day of Rising because of the arguments of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Those arguments destroyed men who were among the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Leave what has passed alone. Allah had carried out what He decreed. Be serious in whatever you cling to regarding belief and action. Do not let your tongue discuss what does not concern you with every dog that barks or who takes the deen lightly, Allah will not let the action of the one who does well go to waste. May Allah have mercy on ar-Rabi' b. Khaytham,

270. He is one of the students of `Abdullah b. Mas`ud, Abu Ayyub al-Ansari and `Amr b. Maymun. Imam ash-Sha`bi, Ibrahim an-Nakh'i, and Abu Burda took from him. Ibn Mas`ud said to him, "If the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had seen you, he would have loved you." He died in 64 A.H.

when he was told, "Al-Husayn is slain!" He said, "Did they kill him?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Oh Allah, the creator of the heavens and the earth, Knower of the unseen and the visible! You will judge between Your slaves in that about which they disagree (39:46)." He did not add anything to that. This is intellect and the deen. It is restraining oneself from the states of the muslims and submission to the Lord of the worlds.

Disaster - Its Argument

"If it is said that that can be in meanings which are obscure, there is no confusion in all these matters because the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, mentioned that `Ali should be appointed after him. He said, "In relation to me, you are as Harun was to Musa, although there is no prophet after me."

271. In 'The Book of the Raids' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 65, chap. 78, pt. 5, p. 129) and in 'The Virtues of the Companions' from the 'Sahih' of Muslim (book 44, chap. 31, pt. 7, p. 120) from the hadith of Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, went to Tabuk and appointed `Ali after him. He said, "Do you leave me with the women and children?" He said, "Are you not content to be in relation to me as Harun was to Musa, although there is no prophet after me?" Look at the argument on this hadith in 1157 A.H. between Sayyid `Abdullah b. al-Husayn as-Suwaydi and al-Mala' Bashi `Ali, the greatest shaykh of the Shi`ite scholars and their mujtahids in the time of Nadirshah on 'The Book of the Conference of an-Najaf' (pp.25-27), published by as-Salafiyya.

He said, "Oh Allah, be a friend to the one who is his friend and an enemy to the one who is his enemy and help the one who helps him and disappoint the one who disappoints him.

272. In the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (1:84, 88, 118, 119, 152, first edition, no. 641, 670, 950, 961, 131, 1310 and in 4:281, 368, 370, 372, first edition and 5:347, 366, 370, 419, first edition). Look at the tafsir of al-Hasan al-Muthanna b. al-Hasan as Sibt b. `Ali b. Abi Talib on this hadith, pp. 185-186. The discussion of the author regarding the two hadith will come later.

After this, the stubborn person cannot resist.

Abu Bakr took it unjustly and sat in other than his proper place.

The `Umar followed him in this encroachment.

Then he hoped that `Umar would have the good fortune to return to the truth. He made the state obscure and made it a council in order to curtail opposition by what he had heard from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

Then Ibn `Awf used a trick until he took it from him (i.e. `Ali) to `Uthman.

When `Uthman was killed since he had scaled the khalifate and the judgments of the Shari`a., the command went to `Ali by the divine prophetic truth. Those who contracted it seized it and those who offered him allegiance disobeyed him and the one who attacked him broke his contract.

The people of Syria turned to deviation in the deen, rather they turned to kufr."

273. All of these sections are part of the ravings and bias of those who brought about this calamity. The author has answered in the following 'Protection' to refute their foolishness. However, the area of discussion is large and consequently the discussion misses the position of the people of Syria in these seditions which occurred in Islam. You saw earlier what Ibn al-Kiwa, one of the leaders of the seditions, said when he was describing his likes in the largest cities: "As for the people of events in the people of Syria, they are the people who most obey their guide and rebel against the one who makes them err." If the people of the events in Syria were like that, based on the testimony of one of the leaders of the sedition, then the Amir al-Mu`minin `Ali testified for the people of well-being and belief among them as Ibn Kathir quoted in 'The Beginning and the End' (7:20) from `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Human as-San'ani, one of the notable Imams and huffaz, from his shaykh Ma`mar b. Rashi al-Basri who was a notable man, from az-Zuhri, the Sunna recorder and shaykh of the Imams, that `Abdullah b. Safwan al-Jumali said that a man from Siffin said, "Oh Allah, curse the people of Syria!" `Ali said to him, "Do not curse the people of Syria. The Abdal are there. The Abdal are there. The Abdal are there."

This hadith is related from another direction (marfu') to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Abu Idris al-Khawlani, who is one of the notable bearers of the Sunna and the Shari`a, and one of the shaykhs of al-Hasan al-Basri, Ibn Sirin, Makhul and their likes states that Abu'd-Darda' said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "While I was sleeping, I saw the Book taken from under my head. I thought that

it was being taken. My eye followed it and it went to Syria. When the sedition occurs, belief will be in Syria." This hadith is related from other Companions than Abu'd-Darda': Abu Umama and `Abdullah b. `Amr b. al-`As. There is a comparison between the people of Syria and those who fought them. We quoted the report of al-A`mash (325:7) from Ibn Kathir from `Amr b. Murra b. `Abdullah b. al-Harith from Zuhayr b. al-Arqam. He said, "'Ali addressed us on that Friday." He said, "I was told that a man came to the Yemen. By Allah, I reckon that those people will overcome you and they will only overcome you because of your rebellion against your Imam and their obedience to their Imam and by your deceit and their trust, by your corruption and their correctness. I sent so-and-so and he deceived me and was treacherous. I sent so-and-so and he deceived me and was treacherous and sent money to Mu`awiya. If one of you were to be entrusted with a glass, he would take its handle. Oh Allah, I am bored with them and they are bored with me. I dislike them and they dislike me. Oh Allah, give me rest from them and give them rest from me." This is how `Ali described his army and his party. Its opposite in virtues was the description of the people of Syria who were forced to take a position of warfare against his group. After `Ali had described the people of Syria with obedience, trustworthiness and correctness, this bomb only blows up in the faces of those who described them with disbelief and corruption in the deen.

This is the reality of their position.

274. i.e. The reality of the school of the Rafidites and the enemies of the Companions.

All that were with them were kafirs,

275. After `Ali and some of his family, they excepted a few of them: Salman al-Farisi, Abu Dharr, al-Miqdad b. al-Aswad, `Ammar b. Yasir, Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman, Abu'l-Haytham b. at-Tihan, Sahl b. Hanif, `Ubada b. as-Samit, Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, Khuzayna b. Thabit and Abu Sa'id al-Khudri. Some of the Shi'a thought that the good ones among the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, were even less in number than these men.

because part of their school is to consider people to be kafirs because of wrong actions.

276. Part of their school is that `Ali and eleven of his family were protected from error and that they are the source of the Shari'a. They accept the Shari'a-making which the transmitters ascribe to them provided these men have the precondition of partisanship and friendship to the Imams, even if people recognised that they had things incompatible with truthfulness or what contradicts what is known to be necessarily part of the deen.

Similarly, this group, called the Imamiyya, said that every rebel with a great wrong action is a kafir,

277. Proven by the great wrong action in their opinion. The muslims do not corroborate that.

(according to the Qadariyya.)

278. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (2:24), "The early Shi'a agreed to affirm the Decree and the attributes. The rejection of the Decree became known among them when they joined the Mu'tazilites in the Buwayyid government."

There was no one more rebellious than the above-mentioned rebels,

279. They are Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Uthman.

and those who helped them in their business. The Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, were the people with the greatest eagerness for this world and those with the least defence of the deen and the most destructive of them for the Pillars and the Shari'a.

280. In spite of that, you will find people among those who are affiliated to the al-Azhar and the Sunna who are friendly to the idea of bringing the schools closer, which was founded in Cairo after the Second World War, and console themselves by devoting their lives to the disagreement between them and to the mutual exchange of taqiyya employed by those who are based on it

Protection - Its Proofs

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "You are spared from the evil of hearing it, so how can anyone be disgruntled by it? After five hundred years, up until this very day when I am writing this (and I do not decrease or increase a single day of it, and it is Sha'ban, 536), what can one hope for after perfection except imperfection?"

The christians and the jews were not content with the Companions of Musa and `Isa just as the Rafidites were not content with the Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when they decided that they had agreed on disbelief and lies.

281. Ibn `Asakir (4:165) transmitted that al-Hasan al-Muthanna b. al-Hasan as-Sibt b. `Ali b. Abi Talib said to a Rafidite, "By Allah, if Allah gives me power over you, I will cut off your hands and feet. Then we will not accept any repentance from you." A man said to him, "You will not accept repentance from them?" He said, "We know these men better than you do. They will confirm you when they want and they will deny you when they want. They claim that that is correct for them by taqiyya (dissimulation). Woe to you; taqiyya is a door of indulgence for the muslim when he is forced to use it and he fears that the one in power will do something to him which he will be unable to avert from his responsibility to Allah. It is not a door to excellence. Excellence lies in carrying out Allah's command and speaking the truth. By Allah, taqiyya does not reach the point where one of the slaves of Allah can use it to misguide the slaves of Allah."

What does anyone hope for from these men? What will remain of them? Allah ta'ala said, "Allah promised those who believe among you and do right actions that He will establish

their deen for them with which He is pleased for them and He will give them security in exchange after their fear (24:55).

282. The Shi'a case alters the deen's foundations in good character to that of political dialectics.

This is a true statement and a real promise. Then their age passed and they had no khalif or strength in them, nor was there security or tranquillity for them, then there was nothing but injustice, aggression, usurpation, chaos, splintering and rebellious agitation.

The community agreed that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not make a statement about anyone who would follow.

283. Ibn `Asakir (4:166) transmitted the hadith of Fudayl b. Mazruq from al-Bayhaqi that al-Hasan al-Muthanna b. al-Hasan as-Sibt b. `Ali b. Abi Talib was asked, "Didn't the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say, 'If I am the master of anyone, `Ali is his master.'?" He said, "Yes, but by Allah, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not mean the Amirate and the Sultanate by that. If he had meant that, he would have stated it more clearly. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was the most eloquent of the muslims. If the business had been as you have stated, he would have said, 'Oh people, this one is to rule you and be in charge over you after me, so hear and obey him.' By Allah, if Allah and His Messenger had chosen `Ali to be in command and put him in charge of the muslims after him and then `Ali had not followed the command of Allah and His Messenger, `Ali would have been the first to have abandoned the command of Allah and His Messenger." Al-Bayhaqi related it by many paths, some with more of the quotes and some with less, but the meaning remains the same.

Al-`Abbas spoke to `Ali, according to what his son `Abdullah related from him. `Abdullah b. al-`Abbas said, "Ali b. Abi Talib, may Allah be pleased with him, left the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, while he was in his pain from which he died. People said, Abu Hasan, how is the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, this morning?" He said, 'He is recovering by the praise of Allah.' Al-`Abbas b. `Abdu'l-Muttalib took his hand and said to him, 'By Allah, after three days you will be the slave of the staff. I think that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, will die from this pain of his. I know the faces of the `Abdu'l-Muttalib at death. Let us go to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and we will ask him about who will be in charge after him. If it is for us, then we will know it. If it is for others, we will know and he can leave it to us.' `Ali said, 'By Allah, if we ask the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, about it and he denies it to us, then the people will never entrust it to us later. By Allah, I will not ask the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.'"

284. Al-Bukhari related in 'The Book of the Raids' from his 'Sahih' (book 64, chap. 73, pt. 5, p. 140-141). Ibn Kathir quoted it in 'The Beginning and the End' (5:227-251) from the hadith

of az-Zuhri from `Abdullah b. Malik from Ibn `Abbas. Imam Ahmad related it in his 'Musnad' (1:263 & 325, no. 2374 & 2999).

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "In my opinion, the opinion of al-`Abbas is sounder and nearer to the next world and clearer in precision. This invalidates the claim of the one who claims that there was any indication that `Ali should be appointed, so how can he claim that there is a text to that effect?"

As for Abu Bakr, a woman came to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and he ordered her to come back to him. She said to him, "and if I do not find you?" It was as if she meant death. He said, "You will find Abu Bakr."

285. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 62, chap. 5, pt. 4, p. 191) from the hadith of Jubayr b. Mut'im. He said, "A woman came to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and he told her to return to him. She said, 'What do you think if I come and do not find you?' as if she meant death. He said, 'Then if you do not find me, go to Abu Bakr.'"

The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, spoke to `Umar when some words had passed between `Umar and Abu Bakr. The face of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, went dark,

286. His face darkened: changed from joy, and the shining colour which was in it left.

until Abu Bakr felt sorry for `Umar because of it. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "Will you leave my Companion alone? (Twice) I was sent to you and you said, 'You have lied.' while Abu Bakr said, 'You spoke the truth.' I clear the due of friendship to every friend."

287. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 62, chap. 5, pt. 4, p. 192) from Abu'd-Darda',

The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "If I were to take a bosom friend in Islam, I would have taken Abu Bakr as a bosom friend, but he is my brother and my Companion."

288. In this chapter from 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (pt. 4, p. 197) from the hadith of `Ikrima from Ibn `Abbas,

Allah took your Companion as a close friend. "All the gates of the mosque should be closed except the door of Abu Bakr."

289. There is confusion and imperfection in this sentence. Look at this meaning in the hadith of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri in that place of the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (pt. 4, pp. 190-191) and the hadith of Ibn `Abbas in the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (1:270, no. 2432) and 'The Beginning and the End' (5:229 & 230).

The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "While I was asleep, I dreamed that I was at a well,

290. Qalib: the well which is not deep.

in which there was a bucket. I took as much of it as Allah wished. Then Ibn Abi Quhafa took it and took one or two buckets of it,

291. Dhunub: the great bucket when it is filled with water. Ibn Abi Quhafa is Abu Bakr.

and there was some weakness in his drawing. May Allah forgive him. Then it turned into a big bucket.

292. i.e. then it became great. It became like a wide bucket made from the skin of an ox because of its great size.

Ibn al-Khattab took it and I have never seen such a mighty one among the people as `Umar doing such hard work. People drank to their full and watered their kneeling camels there."

293. i.e. until people around it had their camels kneel for abundant water. The hadith is in that place in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (pt. 4, p. 193) from the hadith of Sa'id b. al-Musayyib from Abu Hurayra.

It was confirmed that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, climbed up Uhud with Abu Bakr, `Umar and `Uthman, may Allah be pleased with all of them. It shook with them. He said, "Uhud, be still. There is only a Prophet, a Siddiq and two martyrs on you."

294. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' in the 'Sahih' of Muslim (book 62, chap. 5, pt. 4, p. 197) from the hadith of Qatada from Anas b. Malik.

He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "There were men among those before you in the Banu Isra'il who are spoken to, although they are not prophets., If any of them is in my community, it is `Umar."

295. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' in the 'Sahih' of Muslim (book 62, chap. 6, pt. 4, p. 200) from the hadith of Abu Salama from Abu Hurayra.

The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said to `A'isha, may Allah be pleased with her, in his illness, "Call Abu Bakr and your brother for me so that I can write a document. I fear that people will have desires and say, 'I am more entitled.' Allah and the believers refuse anyone except Abu Bakr."

296. In the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (6:144, first edition) from the hadith of az-Zuhri from `Urwa b. az-Zubayr from `A'isha. Look at the 'Musnad' (6:47 & 106) and the Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd (3 [1]: 127) and the 'Musnad' of Abu Da'ud at-Tayyalisi (hadith no. 1508).

Ibn `Abbas said, "A man came to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and said, "Messenger of Allah, last night I dreamed that a tent was oozing with fat and honey. I saw people begging with their hands, both those who were asking for a lot and those asking for a little. I saw a rope reaching from heaven to the earth. I saw you take it and you went up it. Then another man took it and went up it. Then another man took it and went up. Then another man took it and it broke. Then it reached him and he went up it." (And he mentioned the hadith.) Then Abu Bakr interpreted it and said, "As for the rope which reached from the heaven to the earth, it is the truth which you have. You took it and Allah will bring you up. Then another will take it after you and he will climb it. Then another man will take it and climb up. Then another man will take it and it will break with him and then it will reach him and he will climb it.

297. In 'The Book of Interpretation' in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 91, chap. 47, pt. 8, pp. 83-84) from the hadith of `Abdullah b. `Abbas and in 'The Book of Dreams' from the 'Sahih' of Muslim (book 47, hadith 17, pt. 7, pp. 55-56) from the hadith of Ibn `Abbas. In the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (1:236, first edition, no. 2113) from the hadith of Ibn `Abbas.

It is confirmed that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said on that day, "Who has seen a dream?" A man said, "I dreamed that it was as if there was a balance which descended from heaven. You and Abu Bakr were weighed and you were the heavier. Abu Bakr and `Umar were weighed and `Umar was the heavier. Then the balance was taken away." I saw dislike in the face of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace."

298. In 'The Book of the Sunna' from the 'Sunan' of Abu Da`ud (book 39, chap. 8, hadith 4634) from the hadith of Abu Bakra. In 'The Book of the Dream' from the Collection of at-Tirmidhi (chap. 1) from the hadith of Abu Bakra. Look in the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (5:259, first edition) at the hadith of Abu Umama about the scale of Abu Bakr weighing more than the scale of all of the community.

These hadith are like mountains of clarity and mountains regarding the reason for the truth if Allah has given one success. Oh Sunnis, you only have the words of Allah ta`ala, "If you do not help him, yet Allah helped him already, when the unbelievers drove him out, the second of the two, when the two were in the cave." (9:40) He put the community

299. i.e. the community.

in one half and Abu Bakr in the other half. All the Companions stood with him.

When you look at these realities, the state of the khalifs will not be hidden from you in their qualities, the rule and their organisation, particular and general. Allah ta`la said, "Allah has promised those of you who believe and do right actions that he will make them khalifs in the land as he made those before them khalifs and that he will make their deen firm for them which he has approved for them and he will give them security in exchange after their fear.

They will worship Me and not associate anything with Me (24:55)." . If this promise was not carried out for the khalifs, then for whom will it be carried out? If it is not in those men, then in whom will it be? The proof of it is the consensus that no one has preceded them in excellence until this very day and there is disagreement about those who came after them. Those men are definite and their Imamate is certain. It is confirmed that Allah's promise to them was carried out. They defended the territory of the muslims and established the policy of the deen. Our `ulama' said, "Who will be followed after them among the Imams who are the pillars of the religion and the supports of the Shari`a, those who advise the slaves of Allah and guide those who are right-guided to Allah? As for those who are unjust rulers, their harm is confined to this world and its judgments.

As for those who preserve the deen they are the Imams, those who give good counsel for the deen of Allah. They are of four sorts: The first rank preserved the reports of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. They are in the position of those who guard the food of life.

The second rank are the `ulama' of the roots. They defend the deen of Allah from the people of stubbornness and the people of innovations. They are the courageous ones of Islam and its heroes who defend it in the crisis of misguidance.

300. knocking down: attack and defence.

The third class are a people who were exact in the roots of `ibada and the laws of behaviour and they distinguished the halal things from the haram, and they mastered the kharaj tax and the blood-wits and they made the meanings of oaths and vows clear. They detailed the judgments in the claims. In the deen, they are in the position of the agents who deal with property.

The fourth group devoted themselves to service and they applied themselves to `ibada. They withdrew from people. In the next world, they are like the elite of the men of this world.

In 'The Book of the Lamp of the Murids', in the fourth section of 'The Sciences of the Qur'an', we made it clear which of the positions are the best, in those classes and how they are organised.

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "All of these are allusions or statements or proofs or information. All of that indicates the soundness of what has passed and the confirmation of what the men of intellect have.

After this clarification, we will speak about another position. If there is a text about Abu Bakr or `Ali, it would be inevitable that `Ali would have used it as a proof or another of the Muhajirun or Ansar would have used it as a proof. The hadith of Ghadir Khumm....

301. That which occurred in the disaster. Look at the explanation of this hadith by al-Hasan al-Muthnana

....does not have any proof because he appointed him over Madina during his lifetime as Musa appointed Harun while he was alive when he went to speak with Allah for the Banu Isra`il. All of their brother jews agreed that Musa died after Harun, so where then is the Khalifate?

As for his words, "Oh Allah, be a friend to the one who is his friend ..." These are sound words and a supplication which was answered. None opposed him except for the Rafidites. They put him in other than his proper place. They ascribed to him what was not in his degree. Adding to the limit is to diminish the limit. If Abu Bakr had attacked him, he was not the only aggressor. It was all of the Companions as we have stated, because they would have been helping him in what was false.

Do not think that these words of theirs are strange. They said that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, knew them and meant them in reference to hypocrisy and taqiyya. Where are you in relation to the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when he heard `A'isha's words, may Allah be pleased with her, 'Tell `Umar to pray with the people' "You are the women of Yusuf! Tell Abu Bakr to pray with the people.".'`

302. The 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 10, chap. 39, 46, 47, 67, 68 & 70, pt. 1, pp. 161-162 & 165, 174-176) from the hadith of `A'isha and Abu Musa al-Ash`ari.

We have already given these hadith.

303. i.e. previously in this book.

They did something terrible. They forged a great lie. `Umar only made it a council to imitate the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and Abu Bakr when he said, "If I appoint, I will appoint one who is better than me. If I do not appoint, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not appoint."

304. In 'The Book of the Amirate' from the 'Sahih of Muslim (book 33, hadith 11 & 12, pt. 6, pp. 4-5) from the hadith of `Urwa b. az-Zubayr from Ibn `Umar and from the hadith of Salim from Ibn `Umar and in the 'Musnad' of Ahmad (1:43, no. 299) from `Urwa from Ibn `Umar and (1:46, no. 322) from Hamid b. `Abdu'r-Rahman from Ibn `Abbas and (1:47, no. 332) from az-Zuhri from Salim from Ibn `Umar.

No one refuted these words. He said, "Make it a council between some people with whom the Messenger of Allah was pleased when he died."

305. From the long hadith of `Amr b. Maymun in 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 62m chap. 8, pt. 4, pp. 204-207). Look above at this book of ours.

He was pleased with most of them, but there were those with whom he was pleased the most, and he testified that they were worthy of the Khalifate.

As for their statement that Ibn `Awf used a device so that he could give it to `Uthman, if that was a trick and was only that, it was because power was not his.

306. Rather to Allah. Allah is the One who gave success to Ibn `Awf and the rest of his brothers, the Companions, so that they were based in that position on what Allah desired them to have - pure intention, sincere goal, and action for Allah alone. The choice of the Khalif `Umar in choosing a council is a higher example for the human self when it is in the highest rank of nobility and stripped of all thoughts of passion.

If the action of the slaves is a stratagem or it is a judgment from strength, strength and power belongs to Allah. Everyone knew that only one could take it on. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf had his own opinion in the business after he had removed himself, i.e. that he should strive for the muslims to find the one who was the most correct and the strongest. It was as he did and he appointed the one who deserved that and none except him was better entitled to it as we have made clear in 'The ranks of the Khalifate' from 'The Lights of Dawn',

307. It is in 'The Great Tafsir' by Qadi Ibn al-`Arabi in 80 volumes.

and in other books of the hadith.

`Uthman was killed, and none remained on the earth worthier of it than `Ali. It came to him by his worth and in its time and place. Allah made judgments and knowledges clear at his hands as Allah wished to make them clear. `Umar said, "If it had not been for `Ali, `Umar would have been killed."

308. This is along with the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "Allah has placed the truth on the tongue of `Umar who spoke it." He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "If there had been a prophet after me, it would have been `Umar."

Part of his fiqh and knowledge appeared in the fight against the people of the qibla in summoning them and debating them and not letting them go first and going to them before a war began with them. His call was: "We do not begin the war nor is a follower followed nor is the wounded finished off nor is a woman disturbed nor is property taken as booty from them." His command was to accept their testimony and to pray behind them until the people of knowledge said, "If it had not been for what happened, we would not know how to fight the people of aggression."

As for Talha and az-Zubayr going out, that has already been made clear.

309. It was a way for mutual understanding and mutual help to establish the hudud of the Shari`a for the murder of the Amir Al-Mu'minin.

As for their making people unbelievers, they are the unbelievers. We clarified the states of the people of wrong actions and there is no abuse towards them without a book. We have explained it in every section.

If it is said, "Al-`Abbas spoke about `Ali as the Imams related," al-`Abbas and `Ali argued in the presence of `Umar regarding the business of the awqaf of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Al-`Abbas said to `Umar, "Amir al-Mu`minin, decide between me and this sinful despotic unjust one."

310. This claim of al-`Abbas and `Ali before the Amir al-Mu`minin `Umar was already mentioned from the hadith of Malik b. Aws b. al-Hadathan al-Basri in the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari. Ibn Hajar said in 'The Fath al-Bari' (book 56, chap. 1, pt. 6, p.125), "Shu`ayb and Yunus added that `Ali and al-`Abbas called each other names." In the version of `Uqayl from Ibn Shihab in 'The Shares of Inheritance', "Decide between me and this unjust one." They called each other names." In the version of Juwayriyya, "Between this perfidious, deceitful, wrongdoing liar." Ibn Hajar said, "I did not see anything in the paths of transmission that `Ali said anything about al-`Abbas as opposed to what one understands from the words in `Uqayl's version, "They called each other names." Al-Maziri approved of those who omitted these phrases from this hadith. He said, "Perhaps one of the transmitters erred in it. If it is recorded, it is good to take it to mean that al-`Abbas said it indicating `Ali, because he was in the position of a son with him. He wanted to make him retract what he thought was a mistake.

The group said to `Umar, "Amir al-Mu`minin, decide between them and give them relief from each other." `Umar said, "I ask you by Allah, by whose permission the heaven and the earth is established, do you know that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'We do not leave any inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa.' Meaning himself when he said that?" They said, "He said that." He turned to al-`Abbas and `Ali and said, "I ask you by Allah, do you know that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said that?" They said, "Yes." `Umar said, "Allah gave this booty to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and it was something which He did not give to anyone else. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, acted that way in his lifetime. Then he died and Abu Bakr said, 'I am the guardian of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.' Then he died after two years in his amirate. He acted in it as the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had acted. Then you both claim that Abu Bakr was a perfidious deceitful liar?

311. Ibn Hajar (6:125) said, "az-Zuhri used to relate it sometimes and he would be explicit. Then another time, he would delete it." It is the same with Malik. He omitted that in the version of Bishr b. `Umar from him with al-Isma`ili and others. It is the same as what al-`Abbas said to `Ali.

Allah knows that he was truthful, dutiful, right-guided, following the truth." He mentioned the hadith.

We said: As for what al-`Abbas said to `Ali, they are the words of a father to a son. That is possible at the very beginning. It is used by way of forgiveness if it is used between the old and young, so how is it with fathers and sons when the forgiven is close? As for `Umar's

words that they believed that Abu Bakr was unjust, treacherous and perfidious, that is a report about the disagreement in an incident of judgment. He had this opinion regarding it and those men had another opinion regarding it. Abu Bakr and `Umar gave judgment by what they thought was correct. Al-`Abbas and `Ali did not have that opinion. However, when judgment was given they submitted to their judgment as one submits to the judgment of the Qadi, even when he disagrees with it. As for the one against whom judgment is given, he thinks that it is an error. However, he remains silent and submits to it.

If it is said: that was at the beginning of the business when the matter was not clear since the judgment in it was done by ijtihad. Later, the judgment led to Fatima and al-`Abbas being denied the inheritance by the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "We do not leave inheritance. What we leave is sadaqa." The wives of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and his ten Companions knew it and testified to it. Therefore what you have said is not true.

312. Look at the clarity of the Qadi's exposition.

We said: It is possible that that was at the beginning of the business while the matter was not yet clear. They thought that you do not act by the single report when it contradicts the Qur'an, the roots, and the judgments known in a time unless the business is confirmed. When it is confirmed, they submit and obey by the proof which we already gave from one sound hadith to another. So look into it. This is not a text in the question because his words, "We do not inherit. What we leave is sadaqa" can mean, "The inheritance is not valid and we do not deserve it since it is not my property and I am not involved in anything of this world being transferred from me to anyone else." It is possible that "We do not inherit" is one judgment and his words "What we leave is sadaqa" is another specific judgment which says that he spent the sadaqa which came to him from his share as Allah allowed him. That was a special privilege for him in booty for which the muslims did not move their horses or camels. He also had his share with the muslims in what they took as booty by force. It is possible that "Sadaqa" refers to the situation of what a person leaves when he dies. This is what the Companions of Abu Hanifa indicate. It is weak and we will clarify that in its proper place. However, the course of the dispute will come to you in this question as well as the object of ijtihad. That is not by any text from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Therefore it is possible that both correctness and error can exist in the mujtahid, Allah knows best.

Disaster

Then `Ali was killed. The Rafidites said that it was entrusted to al-Hasan and then al-Hasan surrendered it to Mu`awiya. Therefore, he was called "The one who blackened the faces of the unbelievers."

313. One of the elements of the creed of the Rafidites, rather the first element of their belief was their belief that al-Hasan, his father and his brother were infallible as were nine of the descendants of his brother. From this infallibility of theirs - and al-Hasan is at the front of it after his father - it follows that they do not err. All that comes from them is the truth, and the truth is not contradicted. The most important thing that al-Hasan b. `Ali did was to offer allegiance to Mu`awiya. Therefore they are obliged to enter into this homage and believe that it is the truth because it was done by someone whom they considered to be infallible. However, we see that they rejected it and opposed their infallible Imam in it. This must arise from one of two reasons: either they are lying when they claim infallibility for their twelve Imams - so their deen is demolished at its foundation because belief in infallibility is their foundation and their only foundation, or they believe that al-Hasan was indeed infallible and that his offering allegiance to Mu`awiya came from the action of someone who is infallible. However, they attacked their deen and opposed the one whose opinion is infallible and opposed that with which he wanted to meet Allah. They advised each other to attack the deen, generation after generation, class after class, so they persisted in opposing the infallible Imam out of wilfulness, obstinacy, arrogance and disbelief. We do not know which of the two reasons was the most responsible for taking them into the abyss of destruction. There is no third reason. Those of them who said that al-Hasan was "the one who blackened the faces of those of the believers" only have this applied as meaning, "blackened the faces of those who believed in idols." As for those who believe in the prophecy of the grandfather of al-Hasan, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, they thought that his making peace with Mu`awiya and offering him allegiance was one of the signs of prophecy because it carried out what the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had spoken about regarding his grandson, the master of the youths of the Garden. He said that Allah would use him to make peace between two large groups of muslims, as will be made clear. All those who rejoiced in this prophecy and this peace consider al-Hasan to be the one "who brightened the faces of the believers."

One group of Rafidites declared that he was a deviant and another group said that he was a kafir because of that.

Protection

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "As for the statement of the Rafidites that it was entrusted to al-Hasan, that is false. It was not entrusted to anyone.

314. Imam Ahmad related in his 'Musnad' (1:130, p. 1078) from Wukay' from al-A`mash from Salim b. Abi'l-Ja'd from `Abdullah b. Sab' who said, "I heard `Ali say (and he mentioned that he would be killed) that they said, "Appoint someone over us." He said, "No, but I leave you what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, left you." They said, "What will you say to your Lord when you come to him?" He said, "I will say, 'Oh Allah, You left me what is clear to You among them. Then You took me to You and

You are still among them. If You wish, You will put them right, if You wish, You will corrupt them.'" Ahmad related the like of it (1:156, no. 1339) from Aswad b. `Amr b. from al-A`mash from Salama b. Kathir in 'The Beginning and the End' (5:250-251) from Imam al-Bayhaqi from the hadith of Husayn b. `Abdu'r-Rahman from Imam ash-Sha`bi from Abu Wa`il, the brother of Ibn Salama al-Asadi, one of the masters of the Followers, that `Ali was asked, "Won't you appoint someone over us?" He said, "The Messenger of Allah did not appoint so that I should appoint. but if Allah desires good for the people, He will join them to the best of them after me as He joined them to the best of them after the Prophet." This hadith has an excellent isnad. Ibn Kathir also transmitted (7:323) from al-Bayhaqi the hadith of Habib b. Abi Thabit al-Khalil al-Kufi from Tha'laba b. Yazid al-Hamdani (who was one of the Shi`ites of Kufa and an-Nasa'i considered him to be reliable) that he said to `Ali, "Won't you appoint someone?" He said, "No. I will leave you as the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, left you." Look at 'The Greater Sunan' of al-Bayhaqi (8:149).

However, homage was given to al-Hasan. He was worthier than Mu`awiya and many others. He went out for the same thing that his father had gone out for - to call the attacking group to surrender to the truth and to enter into obedience. Mediation resulted in him leaving authority in order to protect the community and avoid shedding their blood.

315. The story of the mediation between al-Hasan and Mu`awiya and their making peace is related by Imam al-Bukhari in 'The Book of Peace' of the 'Sahih' (book 53, chap. 9, pt. 3, p. 169) from Imam al-Hasan al-Basri. He said, "By Allah, al-Hasan b. `Ali sent regiments like mountains against Mu`awiya." `Amr b. al-`As said, "I think that regiments will not turn back until you kill their fellows." Mu`awiya said to him, (and by Allah, he was the better of the two men, i.e. `Amr), "If these kill those, and those kill these, who will I have to be in charge of the affairs of people? Who will I have for their women? Who will I have for their property?" He sent two men of Quraysh from the Banu `Abdu Shams to them: `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Samura and `Abdullah b. `Amir b. Kurayz. He said, "Go to this man (i.e. to al-Hasan b. `Ali) and give to him (i.e. what he wants) and tell him what pleases him and ask him (i.e. what you think has the best interests) and you have full authorisation." They came to him and went in to see him. They spoke to him and questioned him. Al-Hasan b. `Ali told them, "We are the Banu `Abdu'l-Muttalib. We have been injured by this property and the blood of this community has been wasted (i.e. there must be satisfaction for their blood by a lot of money). They said, "He offers you such-and-such, and asks you and requests you." He said, "Who do I have as surety for this?" They said, "You have us for it." He did not ask them for anything but they said, "You have us for it." So he made peace with him.

It confirmed the words of the Prophet of a battle which he spoke on the mimbar, "This son of mine is a master. Perhaps Allah will use him to make peace between two large groups of muslims."

316. Al-Bukhari related with the previous hadith from al-Hasan al-Basri that he heard it from Abu Bakr and that Abu Bakr saw the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace,

while he was on the mimbar with al-Hasan b. `Ali at his side. He said that al-Bukhari also related it in the Virtues of al-Hasan and al-Husayn from 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' in his 'Sahih' (book 62, chap. 22, part 4, p. 26). Look at 'The Beginning and the End' (8:17-19) and Ibn `Asakir (4:211-212).

The promise was carried out. The homage offered to Mu`awiya was valid. That realised the hope of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Mu`awiya was a khalif. He was not a king.

317. Discussion will come on this subject

If it is said that it is related from Safina that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "The Khalifate is thirty years. Then it will become a kingdom." When we count the rule of Abu Bakr until the time when al-Hasan surrendered, that was thirty years, no more and no less, not even by a single day."

318. As the poet says:

Take what you think and leave something you heard.

When the full moon rises, you can do without Saturn

This hadith regarding al-Hasan and the good news for him and praise of him is due to his bringing about peace and surrendering authority to Mu`awiya. It is a pledge from al-Hasan to Mu`awiya.

319. i.e. the Contract of the homage given by al-Hasan to Mu`awiya. That was in a place called "Maskan", at the river, Dajil in Rabi' al-Awwal, 41 A.H. That year was called the year of the Group (`Am al-Jama`a) since the muslims gathered together after having been separated and they devoted themselves to external wars, conquests, and the spread of the call of Islam after the murders of `Uthman had kept the swords of the muslims from this task for about five years. The muslims were able to record glories in it whose like no one has been capable of in five centuries. Allah has a wisdom in everything.

This....

320. i.e. the hadith of Safina.

...is a hadith which is not sound.

321. Because the one who transmitted it from Safina was Sa'id b. Juhman. They disagreed about him. Some of them said that there is no harm in him and others thought that he was reliable. Imam Abu Hatim said about him, "A shaykh who is not used as a proof." His isnad has Hashraj b. Nabata al-Wasiti in it. Some considered him to reliable. An-Nasa'i said on him, "He is not strong." `Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Hanbal related this report from Suwayd at-Tahan. Ibn Hajar said in the Taqrib at-Tadh-hib that he is "soft in hadith". This threadbare

hadith is opposed by the sound clear explicit hadith in 'The Book of the Amirate' in the 'Sahih' of Muslim (book 33, hadith 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, part 6, pp.3-4) from Jabir b. Samura. He said, "I came with my father to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and I heard him say, 'This business will not be finished until twelve khalifs have passed among you.'" He said, "Then he spoke some words which I could not hear. I asked my father, 'What did he say?' He said, 'All of them are from Quraysh.'" Look at it in 'The Book of the Judgments' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 93, chap. 51, pt. 8, pp. 125-127), in 'The Fath al-Bari' (13:162 and what is after it), in 'The Sunan' of Abu Da`ud (book 35, hadith 1), 'The Collection' of at-Tirmidhi (book 31, chap. 46) and in 'The Musnad' of Imam Ahmad (1:398 & 406, no. 3781 & 3859) from the hadith of ash-Sha`bi from Masruq b. al-Adja' al-Hamdani, the model Imam. He said, "We were sitting with `Abdullah b. Mas`ud while he was reciting the Qur`an to us. A man said to him, Abu `Abdu'r-Rahman, did you ask the messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, how many khalifs would rule this community?' `Abdullah b. Mas`ud said, 'No one has asked me this question since the time I came to Iraq before now.' Then he said, 'Yes, we asked the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and he said, 'Twelve like the number of the Chiefs of the Banu Isra`il.'" The hadith is in the Collection of az-Zawa'id (5:190), in 'The Musnad' of Ahmad (5:86 & 87 with three variants, 88, 89 & 90 with three variants, 92 with three variants, 93 with two variants, 84, 95 & 96 with two variants, 97 with two variants, 98 with four variants, 99 with three variants and 100, 101 with two variants, 106 with two variants, 107 with two variants and 108), and in 'The Musnad' of Abu Da`ud at-Tayyalisi (hadith 967 & 1278).

If it had been sound, it would contradict this peace which they agreed on. So one must refer to that peace.

322. Refer to the contract that al-Hasan gave to Mu`awiya. They agreed on it. The good news from the Prophet accorded it his praise and pleasure. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (2:42), "This hadith makes it clear that making peace between two groups is praiseworthy and that Allah and His Messenger love that. What al-Hasan did in that was one of his greatest virtues and excellent qualities for which the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, praised him. If fighting had been obligatory or recommended, the Prophet would not have praised him for not doing something which was obligatory or recommended, etc."

If it is said, "Wasn't there any Companion more suited to rule than Mu`awiya?" We said, "Many".

323. Like Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas, the conquering fighter, one of the ten who were promised the Garden, `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab, the scholar of the Companions who was firm in the footsteps of the Chosen one, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, in both great and small things, and other men of this class and those who were near to it. After the Battle of Siffin they left the business of the Imamate to the two arbiters: Abu Musa and `Amr, they

were to look into it. When they saw that all of the community had gathered to Mu`awiya, they entered into his Imamate and offered him allegiance after they had withdrawn from the civil strife after `Uthman's death. Look at 'The Fath al-Bari' (13:50). Mu`awiya himself recognised people's worth. In 'The Beginning and the End' (8:134), it has come from Ibn Darid from Abu Hatim from al-`Utbi that Mu`awiya said, "Oh people, I am not the best of you. Those of you who are better than me include `Abdullah b. `Umar, `Abdullah b. `Amr and other excellent men. But it may be that I am the one who will be the most useful in ruling for you and the most harmful of you to your enemy and the one to give you the most abundance." Ibn Sa`d related it from Muhammad b. Mus'ab from Abu Bakr b. Abi Maryam from Thabit, the client of Mu`awiya, who heard Mu`awiya say that."

However, Mu`awiya did have certain qualities. They were that `Umar had united all of Syria under him and singled him out for that,

324. Under his leadership and by his good management, it became the strongest force in Islam. It was at the forefront of the armies of jihad and victorious conquest, calling to Allah with its qualities, behaviour, the wisdom of its leaders, and the sincerity of their Islam.

when he saw his good conduct,

325. The hadith of al-Layth b. Sa`d, the Imam of the people of Egypt, was already given with his firm isnad up to Sa`d b. Abi Waqqas, the conqueror of Iraq and Iran and the one who destroyed Chosroes' state, that after `Uthman, he did not see anyone who judged by the truth more than Mu`awiya did. There is the hadith of `Abdu'r-Razzaq as-Sa'ni with his isnad to the sage of the community, Ibn `Abbas, that he did not see a man more suited to rule than Mu`awiya. There are the words of Ibn Taymiyya on p. 68, "The behaviour of Mu`awiya with his people was the best behaviour in any ruler. His people loved him." The words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, were confirmed in the 'Sahih' of Muslim (book 33, hadith 65 & 66), "The best of your Imams is the one you love and who loves you, he gives to you and you give to him." In at-Tabari (6:188) he had the variant of Mujalid from ash-Sha`bi that Qubaysa b. Jabir al-Asadi said, "Shall I tell you whom I accompanied? I accompanied `Umar b. al-Khattab and I did not see a man with more fiqh or better study than him. Then I accompanied Talha b. `Ubaydullah and I did not see a man who gave more generously when being asked than him. Then I kept the company of Mu`awiya and I did not see a man who was a better comrade nor whose secret was more like his outward than him."

his undertaking to guard the heart and barricading the ports,

326. His himma and great concern for that was such that he began to threaten the Byzantine King while he was in the thick of the fight with `Ali in Siffin. It reached him that the Byzantine King was drawing near to the border with a large army. He wrote to him saying, "By Allah, if you do not stop and return to your lands, I and my nephew will make peace and come against you and oust you from all your lands. We will make the land which was wide narrow for you. The Byzantine King was afraid and withdrew, ('The Beginning and the End'

[8:119]).

putting the army in order, attacking the enemy,

327. In the land and sea. The banners of Islam went in all directions in the hands of his exemplary army. They carried the might which Allah desired for His deen, the message of the Messenger and those who believed in it. Egypt was conquered and entered into Islam and the Arabs by the action of `Amr b. al-`As alone. The foundations of the Islamic fleet and their first naval conquest came from Mu`awiya's action alone. The one occupied with the history of the Arabs and Islam must learn that Mu`awiya naturally possessed the character of mastery and leadership and the craft of rule. Ibn Kathir transmitted in 'The History' (8:135) from Hushaym from al-`Awwam b. Hawshab from Jabala b. Suhaym that `Abdullah b. `Amr b. al-`As said, "I have not seen anyone with more mastery than Mu`awiya." Jabala b. Suhaym said, "I said, 'And `Umar?' He said, "'Umar was better than him, but Mu`awiya had more mastery than him." They related words like these regarding Mu`awiya from `Abdullah b. `Umar b. al-Khattab. The statement of `Abdullah b. `Abbas was already given. "I have not seen a man more suited to rule than Mu`awiya."

and managing the people.

328. Ibn Taymiyya said in 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:185), "None of the kings of Islam was better than Mu`awiya nor were the people in the time of any of the kings better than they were in the time of Mu`awiya when his days are compared to any of the kings after him. When his days are compared to the days of Abu Bakr and `Umar, then there is rivalry." Abu Bakr al-Athram related (and Ibn Batta related it by way of him) that Muhammad b. `Umar b. Hanbal related from Muhammad b. Marwan from Yunus from Qatada who said, "If you had come upon work like that of Mu`awiya, most of you would have said, 'This is the Mahdi.'" Ibn Batta related with his firm isnad from two directions from al-A`mash that Mujahid said, "If you had met Mu`awiya, you would have said that this is the Mahdi." Al-Athram said, "Muhammad b. Hawash related to us from Abu Hurayra the scribe who said, "We were with al-A`mash and we mentioned `Umar b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz and his justice. Al-A`mash said, 'How would it have been if you had met Mu`awiya?' They said, 'In his forbearance?' He said, 'No, by Allah, in his justice.'" `Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Hanbal said, "Abu Sa'id al-Ashajj informed us from Abu Usama ath-Thaqafi from Abu Ishaq as-Subay'i that he mentioned Mu`awiya and said, "If you had met him (or you had been in his time), you would have said that he was the Mahdi." This testimony from these notable Imams for the Amir al-Mu'minin Mu`awiya is an echo of the answer of Allah, the Mighty, the Exalted, to the supplication of His Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, for this right-acting khalif on the day when he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "Oh Allah, make him guiding and guided and guide him." It is one of the signs of prophecy.

There is testimony to that effect in the Sahih. The hadith has fiqh.

329. In 'The Book of the Virtues of the Companions' from the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book

62, chap 28, pt. 4, p. 219), there is the hadith of Ibn Abi Mulayka that Ibn `Abbas was asked, "Do you have something on the Amir al-Mu`minin Mu`awiya?" He only had one. He said, "He is faqih." In 'The Book of Virtues' from 'The Collection' of at-Tirmidhi (book 46, chap. 47) there is the hadith of `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi `Umayra al-Muzni from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, that he said to Mu`awiya, "Oh Allah, make him guiding and guided. Guide him." At-Tabarani related it by way of Sa`id b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz at-Tanukhi (and he was for the people of Syria as Imam Malik was for the people of Madina) from Rabi`a b. Yazid al-Ayyadi, one of the notable Imams from `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi `Umayra that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said to Mu`awiya, "Oh Allah, teach him the Book and the Reckoning and guard him from the punishment." Al-Bukhari related it in his 'History'. He said, "Abu Mushir (and he mentioned him with the isnad) told me that the hadith of `Umayr b. Sa`d al-Ansari was already given regarding his retiring from the governorship of Hums during the khalifate of `Umar and the fact that Mu`awiya was appointed." He testified that the Prophet had made a supplication that Allah would guide him. Imam Ahmad related it from the hadith of `Irbad b. Sariyya as-Sulami. Ibn Jarir related it from the hadith of Ibn Mahdi. Asad b. Musa, Bishr b. as-Sari and `Abdullah b. Salih related it from Mu`awiya b. Salih with his isnad. He added in the version of Bishr b. as-Sari, "and make him enter the Garden." Ibn `Adi and others related it from Ibn `Abbas. Muhammad b. Sa`d related it with his isnad to Maslama b. Mukhallad, one of the conquerors and governors of Egypt. The Companions who transmitted this prophetic supplication for Mu`awiya are too many to be counted. (Look at 'The Beginning and the End', 8:120-121). Look at the biography of Mu`awiya under the letter Mim in 'The History of Damascus' by Ibn `Asakir. Whoever does not confirm this hadith, rejects all that is confirmed in the Sunna of the Shari`a of Islam. Among the Shi`a who hate Mu`awiya and curse him, there are those who claim that they are related to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. So do you see them harbouring hatred for their ancestor, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, since he was pleased with Mu`awiya and asked for help for him and made supplication for him? If you are not ashamed, then do whatever you like!

There is testimony to the fact that he was a khalif in the hadith of Umm Hiram when she related that some people from the Prophet's community would ride the middle of the green sea like kings on thrones. That happened while he was khalif.

330. Umm Hiram bint Milham, a companion of the Ansar from the people of Quba'. When the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, went to Quba', he rested in her house. She was the maternal aunt of his servant Anas b. Malik. Al-Bukhari related in 'The Book of Jihad', from his 'Sahih' (book 33, hadith 160) from Anas that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, slept in her house at midday. Then he woke up laughing because he had dreamed of some of his community raiding in the way of Allah, riding the middle of the sea, like kings on thrones. Then he put his head down and slept. He awoke and he had seen the same dream. Umm Hiram said to him, "Ask Allah to put me among them." He told her, "You are among the first." Ibn Kathir (8:220) said that he meant the army of Mu`awiya when

it raided Cyprus and conquered it in 27 A.H. in the days of `Uthman b. `Affan under the leadership of Mu`awiya after he had established the first Islamic fleet in history). Umm Hiram was with him. She was accompanying her husband `Ubada b. as-Samit. Abu'd-Darda', Abu Dharr and other Companions were with the, Umm Hiram died in the way of Allah and her grave is still in Cyprus. Ibn Kathir said, "The general of the second army was Yazid b. Mu`awiya in the raid on Constantinople. He said, "This was one of the greatest signs of prophecy."

There can be degrees in rule: Khalifate, then kingdom. The rule of the khalifate belonged to four, and the rule of the kingdom began with Mu`awiya.

331. The khalifate, kingdom and the amirate are technical designations which are used in history according to their actual usage. Consideration is always given to the behaviour and action of man. Mu`awiya was appointed over Syria for the rightly-guided khalif for a period of twenty years. Then he took on the task of all Islam for another twenty years in the greatest Islamic land and after al-Hasan b. `Ali offered him allegiance. In both cases, he safeguarded justice and was good to people of all classes. He honoured the people of talent and helped them to advance their talents. He had great forbearance towards the rashness of the ignorant men and so he cured their imperfections through that means. He made the judgments of the Muhammadan Shari`a binding on everyone with resolution, compassion, diligence and belief. He led them in their prayers and directed them in their gatherings and institutions. He led them in their wars. In 'The Path of the Sunna' (3:185) there is the statement which the lofty Companion Abu'd-Darda' made to the people of Syria, "I have not seen anyone with a prayer more like the prayer of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, than this Imam of yours," meaning Mu`awiya. You already saw what al-A`mash said to those who mentioned `Umar b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz and his justice, "How would it be if you had met Mu`awiya?" They said, "In his forbearance?" He said, "No, by Allah, in his justice!"

His integrity in the path of Islam was so great that men like Qatada, Mujahid and Abu Ishaq as-Subay'i, who were all notable Imams, said about him, "Mu`awiya was the Mahdi." The one who studies the biography of Mu`awiya in his judgment will see that his government in Syria was an exemplary government in Justice, mellowness, and indulgence. When he was given a choice between the good and the better, he chose the better over the good. If this was how he acted for forty years, then the muslim Amir was suited to be Khalif over the muslims. They were content with him because of that and envied him, so he was the Khalif over the muslims. Whoever calls him a king cannot contradict the fact that he was the most merciful and correct of all the kings of Islam.

Mu`awiya used to say about himself according to what Khaythama related from Harun b. Ma`ruf from Damra from Ibn Shawdab: "I am the first of the kings and the last of the khalifs." We already gave the hadith of Ma`mar from az-Zuhri, "Mu`awiya acted for two years as `Umar had acted and did not alter it." Here we indicated the difference in the environment and its effect on the organisation of the government. Mu`awiya himself used

that excuse to `Umar when `Umar came to Syria and Mu`awiya met him with a great retinue. `Umar disliked that. Mu`awiya excused himself saying, "We are in a land where there are many enemy spies. We must display the might of power in which the might of Islam and its people lie. We will frighten them by that." `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Awf said to `Umar, "How excellent is what resulted from what you did in it, Amir al-Mu'minin!" `Umar said, "Because of that, we endured what we endured of it." ('The Beginning and the End' [8:124-125]).

Mu`awiya tried to act by the behaviour of `Umar for two years. That was the highest example in his house. Yazid himself spoke about keeping to it. Ibn Abi'd-Dunya related from Abu Kurayb Muhammad b. al-`Ala' al-Hamdani the hafiz, from Rushdin al-Misri from `Amr b. al-Harith al-Ansari al-Misri from Bukayr b. al-Ashajj al-Makzumi al-Madini, then al-Misri that Mu`awiya said to Yazid, "How do you think that you should act if you are appointed?" He said, "By Allah, father, I would act in it as `Umar b. al-Khattab acted." Mu`awiya said, "Glory be to Allah, my son! By Allah, I have striven in the path of `Uthman as far as I was able. How can you have the behaviour of `Umar then?" (Ibn Kathir 8:229). Those who do not know the life of Mu`awiya think it strange when you tell them, "He was one of the people of zuhd and purity and one of the men of right action." Imam Ahmad related on 'The Book of Zuhd' (p. 172, Maddan edition) from Abu Shibl Muhammad b. Harun from Hasan b. Waqi' from Damra b. Rabi'a al-Qurayshi from `Ali b. Abi Hamala from his father who said, "I saw Mu`awiya speaking to the people on the mimbar in Damascus, wearing a patched garment." Ibn Kathir quoted (8:134) from Yunus b. Maysar al-Himyari az-Zahid (who was one of the shaykhs of Imam al-Awza'i), "I saw Mu`awiya riding in the Damascus market with his servant behind him. He was wearing a shirt with a patched pocket, going along in the Damascus markets. Mu`awiya's generals and his great companions used to ask for his clothes to seek blessing from them. When any of them came to Madina wearing one of these garments, they recognised it and went to great extremes to obtain it." Ad-Daraqutni related from Muhammad b. Yahya b. Ghassan that the famous general ad-Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri came to Madina. He went to the mosque and prayed between the grave and the mimbar wearing a patched cloak which he had gotten from Mu`awiya's general. Abu'l-Hasan al-Barrad saw it and recognised that it was Mu`awiya's cloak. He haggled with him over it, thinking that he was a common bedouin until Abu'l-Hasan al-Barrad was ready to pay him three hundred dinars for it. Ad-Dahhak b. Ways took him to the house of Huwaytib b. `Abdu'l-`Uzza and put on another cloak and gave that cloak to al-Hasan al-Barrad for nothing. He told him, "It is ugly for a man to sell his cloak. Take it and wear it." Abu'l-Hasan took it and sold it. It was the first money that he ever got (Ibn `Asakir 7, p. 6).

We quoted these examples so that people will know that the true form of Mu`awiya is different from the false form which his enemies created. Whoever then wishes to call Mu`awiya the khalif and Amir al-Mu'minin, knows Sulayman b. Mahram al-A`mash, one of the notable Imams and huffaz who was called the Mushaf because of his truthfulness, used to prefer Mu`awiya to `Umar b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz, even in his justice. Whoever did not have a full look at Mu`awiya and wants to withhold this title from him, should know that Mu`awiya went

to Allah, the Mighty, the Exalted, with his justice, forbearance, jihad and correct action. While he was in this world, he did not care whether he was called a king or a khalif. In the Next World, he has the greater zuhd because of the zuhd which he had in this world.

Allah said about Da`ud who was better than Mu`awiya.

332. Da`ud in his prophecy, as the muslims know in their deen, was better than Mu`awiya.

"Allah gave him kingdom and wisdom" (2:251) so he made prophecy a kingdom. Do not look at hadith which have weak isnads.

333. Indicating the hadith of Safina. It was already discussed.

If the situation demanded that certain things be investigated - and Allah knows best - most people had different opinions. However, allegiance was given to Mu`awiya in the way which Allah desired in the form which the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had promised out of praise for him and pleasure with him. He hoped that there would be peace through al-Hasan as the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "This son of mine is a master. Perhaps Allah will use him to make peace between two large groups of Muslims."

334. This hadith was already discussed.

The `ulama' have spoken about someone less excellent being the Imam when someone better than him is present. The question does not reach the point to which the common people take it. We made that clear in its place.

335. From his other books. This is one of the fortifying questions contained in Islamic fiqh. Its rules are clear by texts and the sunan about the roots of the Shari`a on which the deen is based in the area of finding the best interests, repelling corruption and determining the measure of necessities. Qadi Abu'l-Hasan al-Mawardi did not mention any opponent in "The Rules of Power" (p.5) about the permission for the Imam to be one less excellent - except for al-Jahiz. What harm comes to the Imams of the deen if al-Jahiz opposes them? Were the Abbasids whom al-Jahiz knew, since he ingratiated himself with them while they were alive, better than their contemporaries? As for most of the fuqaha' and the mutakallimun, they said that it is permitted that the Imam be someone less excellent and it is valid to offer him allegiance. The existence of someone better does not prevent someone less excellent being the Imam as long as he does not lack the preconditions for the Imamate. Similarly, when undertaking judgment, it is permitted to imitate the less excellent although something better exists because greater excellence is excess in choice. That is not considered to be a precondition of worthiness. We refer the reader to the Book, "The Imamate and Rivalry" by Abu Muhammad b. Hazm included in part 3 of his book, al-Fisal, especially the section in it devoted to the Imamate of the less excellent (pp. 163-167, published in Egypt, 1320).

If it is said that he killed Hujr b. `Adi although he was one of the Companions who was

famous for being good, and put fetters on him as a prisoner because of what Ziyad said. `A'isha sent to him about Hujr and she found that he had already killed him. We said, "We all know about the execution of Hujr, but we disagree. Some say that he was killed wrongly and some say that he killed him by a right.

336. Hujr b. `Adi al-Kindi. Al-Bukhari and others considered him to be one of the Tabi`un. Others considered him to have been a Companion. He was one of the party of `Ali in the Camel and at Siffin. Ibn Sirin related that Ziyad, the Amir of Kufa, gave a very long khutba. Hujr b. `Aki called out, "The prayer!" Ziyad continued to speak. Hujr and some others with him threw pebbles at him. Ziyad wrote to Mu`awiya to complain about Hujr's aggression against his Amir in the House of Allah. He considered that to be part of corruption in the earth. Mu`awiya wrote to Ziyad telling him to send Hujr to him. When he was brought to Mu`awiya, he ordered that he be executed. Those who think that Mu`awiya killed him justly say, "There is no government in this world which could give a lesser punishment than that against the one who throws pebbles at his Amir while he is giving the Khutba on the mimbar of the General Mosque and rushes into the calamity of partisanship and bias." Those who oppose them mention Hujr's virtues and say that Mu`awiya should not have left his quality of forbearance and patience towards his opponents. Others answered them saying that Mu`awiya had forbearance and patience when he himself was attacked. When the community was attacked in the person of their ruler while he was on the mimbar of the mosque, Mu`awiya could not tolerate that, especially in a place like Kufa which had produced the greatest number of the people of sedition who had attacked `Uthman for his tolerance. They inflicted losses on the community in their blood, their reputation, their peace of mind and the positions of their jihad. These were precious sacrifices which could have been dispensed with if the awe of the state had been maintained through disciplining the small party of the people of rashness and levity at the appropriate time. As `A'isha wished that Mu`awiya would include Hujr in his patience, `Abdullah b. `Umar wanted the same thing. It is true that Mu`awiya had some of the forbearance and qualities of `Uthman. However, in political situations, he saw how `Uthman had ended and what had come about through the persistence of those who were audacious towards him.

If it is said that his execution was basically unjust unless something was proven against him which demanded his execution, we say that the basis is that the Imam kills by the right. Whoever claims that it is done unjustly must have proof. If it was pure injustice, then there would have been no house in which Mu`awiya was not cursed. Written on the doors of the mosques in the city of peace, the abode of the khalifate of the Abbasids, was "The best of people after the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, were Abu Bakr, then `Umar, then `Uthman, then `Ali, then Mu`awiya, the uncle of the believers, may Allah be pleased with them."

337. The author lived in Baghdad in the time of the `Abbasids as we already mentioned in his biography. He knew its mosques with his own eyes. Mu`awiya is the uncle of the believers because he is the brother of the Umm al-Mu'minin Rabla bint Abi Sufyan, famous by her

kunya, Umm Habiba.

This is in spite of what existed (of ill feeling) between them and the Umayyads which was not hidden from people.

However, according to what is said, Hujr saw some objectionable things in Ziyad.

338. Ziyad was one of the governors of `Ali when he was khalif. Hujr b. `Adi was one of Ziyad's friends and helpers. He did not object to anything he did. When he became one of Mu`awiya's governors, he began to object to him and dashed into the calamity of partisanship and bias. Hujr acted in the same way with whoever had been appointed over Kufa for Mu`awiya before Ziyad. Mu`awiya had an excuse for thinking that Hujr was one of those who strove to work corruption in the earth.

He threw pebbles at him and deposed him. He wanted to lead the people to sedition. Therefore Mu`awiya considered him one of those who strove for corruption in the land.

`A'isha spoke to him about his affair when he went on Hajj. He told her, "Leave me and Hujr alone until we meet before Allah." Therefore you, company of muslims, should leave them alone until they meet before Allah with their just chosen firm companion. How can you go on where you have no awareness? Why don't you listen?

It is said that he intrigued against al-Hasan in order to poison him.

We said that this is impossible for two reasons. One of them is that he did not fear any force from al-Hasan once he had surrendered authority. The second is that it was an unknown business. Only Allah knows it. How can you assume it without proof and ascribe it to any of His creatures in a distant time when we do not have any sound transmission about it? Moreover, this occurred in the presence of the people of sects who were in a state of sedition and rebellion. Each of them ascribed what he should not ascribe to his companion. Only the pure is accepted in it. Only the determined just man is listened to in it.

339. Ibn Taymiyya spoke in 'The Path of the Sunna' (2:225) about the Shi'a claim that Mu`awiya poisoned al-Hasan, "That was not established by any clear proof in the Shari'a nor by a considered statement nor by a clear transmission. This is part of what it is not possible to know. This is a statement without knowledge." He said, "In our time, we saw people among the Turks and others who said that he was poisoned and died of poison. People disagree about that and even where the place was where he died and the fort where he died. You will find each of them relating something different from what the other related." After Ibn Taymiyya mentioned that al-Hasan died in Madina while Mu`awiya was in Syria, he mentioned the possibilities of the report, assuming it to be sound. One of them is that al-Hasan was divorced and did not remain with a wife.

If it is said: He gave it to Yazid, but he was not worthy,

340. If the gauge of worthiness for that is that he reach the level of Abu Bakr and `Umar in

all their qualities, this will never be reached in the history of Islam nor was it done by `Umar b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz. Even if we desire the impossible and suppose that it is possible for another Abu Bakr and another `Umar to appear, we will never have a milieu like the milieu which Allah granted to Abu Bakr and `Umar. If the gauge of worthiness is being upright in behaviour and establishing respect for the Shari`a, acting by its judgments, being just to people, looking after their best interests, jihad against their enemies, expanding the horizons of its call and compassion for their individuals and groups, the reports of Yazid can be closely examined and people know his actual state as he was while alive. That will make it clear that he was not less than many of those whose praises have been sung by history and who have been abundantly praised.

And something took place between him and `Abdullah b. `Umar, ibn az-Zubayr and al-Husayn which the historians have related from Wahb b. Jarir b. Hazim from his father and from others. He said that when Mu`awiya decided that allegiance should be given to his son Yazid, he went on Hajj. He came to Makka with about one thousand men. When they were close to Madina, Ibn `Umar, Ibn az-Zubayr and `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi Bakr went out. When Mu`awiya came to Madina, he mounted the mimbar and praised and glorified Allah. Then he mentioned his son Yazid and said, "Who is more entitled to rule than him?"

341. There were many young men of Quraysh who were contemporary with Yazid among those who thought that they could undertake to rule by certain points which they knew that they possessed. Indeed, even Sa`id b. `Uthman b. `Affan and those who were less than Sa`id, wanted to undertake to rule after Mu`awiya. The principle of a council to elect the khalif was much better than the principle of rule by contract. However, Mu`awiya knew that opening the door of consultation to choose someone to succeed him would cause carnage in the Islamic community and that blood would not cease to flow until all the worthy men of Quraysh, capable of taking charge of the affairs of this community, were annihilated. Mu`awiya was too judicious not to have seen the virtues which those young men of Quraysh had. When any of them was distinguished by something over his peers, there was another one among them who was distinguished by something else. However Yazid, although he shared with the others in their accomplishments, was distinguished over them by the greatest thing that the state requires - military force to support him in the khalifate which makes it a force for Islam. This was shown when Shaytan sowed sedition among those who competed for this throne so that it developed into a situation abhorrent to every muslim. If Yazid had only had his uncles of Quda`a and their allies in the Yemeni tribes, by that he would have possessed what would not have allowed the one with foresight to leave him out of the reckoning when he reflects on these matters. Add to this what Ibn Khaldun stated when he spoke about al-Husayn's journey to Iraq to attack Yazid when he said in the section, 'The Rule of Contract', in the preface of his history, "As for zeal, he erred in it, may Allah have mercy on him, because the partisanship of Mudar was in Quraysh and the partisanship of Quraysh was in Abdu Munaf and the partisanship of `Abdu Manaf was in the Banu Umayya." Quraysh and all people recognised that this was theirs. They did not deny it. That was forgotten at the beginning of

Islam when people were distracted by astonishment at the miracles of the revelation. When the business of prophecy and awesome miracles stopped, then judgment returned to normal after a short time. The partisanship became as it had been and went to those who had had it before. Mudar began to obey the Banu Umayya rather than others.

Then Mu`awiya left and went to Makka and finished his tawaf. He went into his house and sent for Ibn `Umar. He said the Shahada and said, "Ibn `Umar, you used to tell me that you would not like to spend a dark night without an Amir over you. I am cautioning you lest you sow dissension among the muslims and lest you try to corrupt what they have." When he was silent, Ibn `Umar spoke and praised and glorified Allah. Then he said, "There were khalifs before you who had sons. Your son is not better than them. They did not want for their sons what you want for your son. They gave the choice to the muslims since the muslims know best. You caution me in case I sow dissension among the muslims when I have not yet done it. I am a muslim man. When they agree on a business, I am with them." Then Ibn `Umar left.

342. This report contradicts what is in 'The Book of Raids' of the 'Sahih' of al-Bukhari (book 64, chap. 29, pt. 5, p. 47) from Ibn `Umar that his sister, the Umm al-Mu'minin Hafsa advised him to go quickly and offer his homage. She said, "The truth is that they are waiting for you. I fear that there will be divisions if you hold back from them." Look at p. 166.

He sent to `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi Bakr. He said the shahada and then began to speak. He interrupted him and said, "By Allah, you want us to give you authority to give power to your son, for Allah. By Allah, we will not do it. By Allah, you will refer this business to a council of the muslims or the business will be taken back to the beginning for you.

343. i.e. it will bring about civil strife in its worst states against you. He noted that the people who ascribed arrogance against Mu`awiya did not attack the adequacy and worthiness of Yazid because it was the last thing which they doubted in him during the lifetime of Mu`awiya. Those who fabricated these reports and ascribed them to Wahb b. Jarir b. Hazm have lied disgracefully.

Then he leapt up. Mu`awiya said, "Oh Allah, restrain him as You like." Then he said, "Oh man, calm yourself! Do not look to the people of Syria. I fear that they will beat me to you until it is reported this evening that you have offered homage. After that, you can do whatever seems best to you in your affair."

Then he sent to Ibn az-Zubayr and said, "Ibn az-Zubayr, you are a wily fox. Whenever it leaves a hole, it goes to another. You have relied on these two men and I have blown up their noses." Ibn az-Zubayr said, "If you have wearied of being Amir, then leave it and bring your son and we will offer him homage. If I give your son homage along with you then which of you two do you think we should listen to and which should we obey? The homage cannot ever be for both of you."

344. Ibn az-Zubayr was too intelligent to miss the fact that the homage to Yazid was after

Mu`awiya and that both homages were not effective while Mu`awiya was still alive. Those who fabricated these reports and ascribed them to Wahb b. Jarir have made a disgraceful lie.

Then he got up.

Mu`awiya went out and ascended the mimbar. He said, "We found that people's conversations contain faults. They claim that Ibn `Umar, Ibn az-Zubayr and Ibn Abi Bakr did not offer homage to Yazid. They have heard and obeyed and they have offered homage."

The people of Syria said, "No, by Allah, we will not be content until they offer homage before witnesses. If not, we will cut off their heads."

He said, "Shame! Glory be to Allah! How quick people are to treat Quraysh badly! I will not hear these words from anyone after today!" Then he descended.

People said, "They offered homage." They said, "We did not offer homage." People said, "You offered homage."

Wahb related by another means, "Mu`awiya spoke and mentioned Ibn `Umar. He said, 'By Allah, he will give homage or I will kill him.' `Abdullah b. Abdullah b. `Umar went to his father and he travelled to Makka in three days and told him about this.

345. This report from Wahb b. Jarir b. Hazim shows that Mu`awiya made his speech while he was in Madina, coming there from Damascus, before he had reached Makka and that Ibn `Umar was in Makka on that day. His son rode to him to meet him in Makka and tell him about this speech. In the report before this, which is also related from Wahb b. Jarir b. Hazim, he clearly states that Ibn `Umar was in Madina when Mu`awiya arrived there from Damascus and that he was among the notable men who went out to meet him. The two reports contradict each other and refute each other, although they are from the same man. I do not know where the author got them. At-Tabari did not relate them even though he was concerned with the reports of Wahb b. Jarir because he was reliable. Wahb died in 206 A.H. and his father died in 180 A.H. after he had become confused. Between these two and these reports are other transmitters, and between the two of them and at-Tabari and other historians there are many transmitters. I believe that these reports are not sound since they contradict each other. If we knew their transmitters up to Wahb and after Wahb, we would know where the lie came from.

Ibn `Umar wept. The news reached `Abdullah b. Safwan. He went to Ibn `Umar and said, 'Did that man say that?' He said, "Yes." He said, 'What do you want? Do you want to fight him?' He said, 'Ibn Safwan, patience is better than that.' Ibn Safwan said, 'By Allah, if he means to do that, I will fight him.'

346. `Abdullah b. Safwan, the grandson of Ummaya b. Khalaf al-Jumahi. He was killed with Ibn az-Zubayr in 73 A.H.

Mu`awiya came to Makka and alighted where he would spend the night. `Abdullah b. Safwan

went to him and said, 'Do you claim that you will kill Ibn `Umar if he does not offer allegiance to your son?' He said, 'Me kill Ibn `Umar? By Allah, I will not kill him!'"

Wahb related by a third path....

347. This report is not in at-Tabari. I think that it was fabricated in the book from which the two previous reports came.

....that he said: When Mu`awiya left Batn Marr on his way to Makka, he said to the master of his guard, "Do not let anyone go with me until I give him a mount." He went out alone until he was in the middle of Al-Arrak, al-Husayn b. `Ali met him. He stopped and said, "Welcome, son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and master of the young muslim men. A beast for Abu `Abdullah to ride! " He was brought a mule and shown it. Then `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi Bakr came.

348. We know from the first report from Wahb himself that `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi Bakr was in Madina. He was one of those who met Mu`awiya when he came there from Damascus. What took him to Makka so that he was among those who met Mu`awiya when he arrived there? Truly those who made lies against Mu`awiya are naive, and do not act well, even in the craft of lying.

He said, "Welcome, son of the shaykh of the Quraysh and its master and the son of the Siddiq of this community. A beast for Abu Muhammad to ride!" He was brought a mule and rode it. Then Ibn `Umar came. He said, "Welcome to the Companion of the Messenger of Allah and the son of the faruq and the master of the muslims." He called for a beast and he rode it. Then Ibn az-Zubayr came. He said, "Welcome to the son of the Companion of the Messenger of Allah and the son of the aunt of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace." He called for a beast for him and he rode it. Then he began to go between them. He did not let any of them leave until he had entered Makka. He was the first to enter and the last to leave. Every morning they received gifts and honour. He did not mention anything to them about Yazid until he had finished his Hajj rites and loaded his baggage and was bout to leave for Syria and his mounts were ready to go.

Then the people turned to each other and said, "People do not be deceitful! By Allah, he has not done this for your love or your honour. He only did what he wanted. Prepare and answer for him." Then they went to al-Husayn and said, "Abu `Abdullah, you!" He said "While the shaykh and master of Quraysh is among you? He is more entitled to speak." They said to `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Abi Bakr, "You, Abu Muhammad," He said, "I am not the one to speak when you have the Companion of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and the son of the master of the muslims, among you." (i.e. Ibn `Umar) They said to Ibn `Umar, "You!" He said, "I am not your man, but let Ibn az-Zubayr speak. He will be enough for you." Then they said, "You, Ibn az-Zubayr." He said, "Yes, if you give me your contracts and your pledges that you will not oppose me, then I will deal with this man for you." They said, "You have that." Permission was sought and Mu`awiya gave them

permission and they came in.

Mu`awiya spoke and praised and glorified Allah. Then he said, "You know my behaviour with you, my connection to your kin, my indulgence to you and my enduring what you do. Yazid, the son of the Amir al-Mu'minin, is your bother and the son of your uncle and the person with the best opinion for you. I want you to give him the name "Khalif" and for you to be those who depose and appoint and oblige and divide, although none of that is yours."

The people were silent. He said, "Won't you answer me?" The people remained silent. He said, "Won't you answer me?" They remained silent. He turned to Ibn az-Zubayr and said, "Come. Ibn az-Zubayr, by my life, you speak to the people!" He said, "Yes, Amir al-Mu'minin. I will give you a choice between three qualities. Whichever you take, the choice is yours." He said, "Your father belongs to Allah, present them!" He said, "If you wish, you can do what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did. If you wish, you can do what Abu Bakr did. He was the best of the community after the Messenger of Allah. If you like, you can do what `Umar did. He was the best of the community after Abu Bakr." He said, "Your father belongs to Allah, what did they do?" He said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died and did not appoint anyone. The muslims were content with Abu Bakr. If you like, you can leave the business of this community until Allah decides what He decides in it. The muslims will choose for themselves." He said, "Well, you do not have anyone among you today like Abu Bakr. I do not think that you will be safe from dispute." He said, "Then do as Abu Bakr did. He delegated a man from the far part of Quraysh who was not one of the children of his father and appointed him." He said, "Your father belongs to Allah! And the third?" He said, "Do what `Umar did. He made the business a council with six men of Quraysh. None of them was his relative." He said, "Is there anything else?" They said, "No." He said, "And you?" They said, "We as well." He said, "No, I wanted to meet you. Whoever is warned is excused. If any of you rises against me and rejects me in front of witnesses, I will take him for that. I have a statement. If I am truthful, I have my truthfulness. If I lie, the lie is mine. I swear by Allah, if any of you refutes me, his words will not come back to him before I have his head." Then he called for the Captain of the Guard and said, "Put two of your guards over each of these men. If any man begins to repeat something, true or false, then strike him with your swords."

349. The author quoted these disgraceful reports which were falsified in order to expose them. Compare them with the hadith of al-Bukhari regarding the sound position of Ibn `Umar in this event so that people would know that the truth lay in one valley and those lying transmitters lay in another valley.

Then he left and they left with him. He went up the mimbar and praised and glorified Allah. Then he said, "These are the party of the masters of the muslims and the best of them. We do not act independently in anything without them nor do we decide any business without consulting them. They are satisfied and have given homage to Yazid, the son of the Amir al-Mu'minin, after him. They gave homage in the Name of Allah. They have shaken his hand."

Then he sat on his camel and departed.

The people met them and said, "You claimed and you pretended. Then you were satisfied and presented yourselves and acted." They said, "By Allah, we did not do it." They said, "What kept you from answering the man when he lied then?" Then the people of Madina and the people in general gave homage. Then Mu`awiya went to Syria.

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be please with him, said, "We do not lack knowledge nor are we ignorant. We have not been moved by ignorant rashness nor do we have any rash zeal for the right. We do not have nay malice towards any of the Companions of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. We say, 'Our Lord, forgive us and our brothers who preceded us in belief. Do not put malice in our hearts towards those who believe. Our Lord, you are forgiving, merciful.' We do not say, 'Mu`awiya abandoned the best course of action when it had been a council. He should not have singled out any of his kin, let along a son, for it, and he should have followed what `Abdullah b. az-Zubayr indicated by either not acting or acting by what he said.

350. Mu`awiya knew Ibn az-Zubayr better than Ibn az-Zubayr himself. Al-Baladhuri related in 'The Lineage of the Nobles' (4:"2":53-54) from al-Mada`ini from Maslama b. `Alqama from Khalid from Abu Qilaba that Mu`awiya said to Ibn az-Zubayr, "Avarice and eagerness will make you enter a narrow entrance. I wish that I could be with you at that time so that I could rescue you." When Ibn az-Zubayr was near death, he said, "This is what Mu`awiya said to me. I wished that he had been alive."

He inclined to appoint his son. He then gave him the homage and the people gave him homage and those who did not act did not act.

351. He turned from the best form when he feared seditions and slaughter if he were to make it a council.

Homage is effected in the Shari`a because it can be effected by one, or it is said that it can be effected by two people.

If it is said, "Only for the one possessing the preconditions of the Imamate", we said, "Age is not one of its preconditions, nor is it confirmed that Yazid lacked them."

If it is said, "Justice and knowledge are among its preconditions, but Yazid was neither just nor was he a man of knowledge," we said, "How do we know that he lacked knowledge or lacked justice"

352. As for justice, Muhammad b. `Ali b. Abi Talib testified in his favour when he was arguing with Ibn Muti` when he rebelled against Yazid in Madina. He said about Yazid, "I did not see him do what you mentioned. I was present with him and I stayed with him. I saw him persevere in the prayer and I saw him eager for good. He asked about fiqh and kept to the sunna (Ibn Kathir 8:233), "As for knowledge, it was not necessary for someone like him

in a place like this. He was in a position of approval and beyond approval in it. Al-Mada'ini related that Ibn `Abbas came to Mu`awiya after the death of al-Hasan b. `Ali, Yazid came to Ibn `Abbas and sat with him to console him. When Yazid left him, Ibn `Abbas said, "When the Banu Harb depart, then the `ulama' of the people will depart (Ibn Kathir, 8:228).

Does he lack them by the statement of three excellent men who indicated that he should not do it? They alluded to a fault of judgment. They wanted it to be a council."

If it is said that there were men who were worthier than him and men with greater knowledge - there were some hundred men, perhaps even a thousand - then we said, that the subject of the less excellent being Imam is a disputed topic among the `ulama'. The `ulama' have mentioned that topic as we already mentioned it.

353. What follows clarifies the narration above.

Al-Bukhari completed the chapter and pursued an excellent course. In his 'Sahih', he related what will render all of this invalid. That is that Mu`awiya gave the khutba while Ibn `Umar was present during that khutba. According to what Al-Bukhari

354. Book 64, chap. 29, pt. 5, p. 48.

related from `Ikrima b. Khalid, Ibn `Umar said, "I came to Hafsa and her locks were dripping.

355. i.e. her locks were dripping water. Locks are called "nawsat" because they shake, i.e. move.

I said, "The matter is as you have seen. None of the command has been given to me." She said, "True. They are waiting for you. I fear that there will be divisions if you hold back." She would not leave him alone until he went. When the people parted, Mu`awiya spoke. He said, "Whoever wants to speak about this matter should raise his head. We are better for him than himself and his father." Habib b. Maslama....

356. Habib b. Maslama al-Fihri of Makka. He was a child at the death of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Then he went to Syria for jihad. He was famous for his might and he is considered to be the conqueror of Armenia. It is said that he was the general of the relief army which went from Syria to rescue `Uthman from the hands of his attackers. The news reached him that he had been martyred while he was on his way. Therefore he went back.

....said, "Won't you answer him?" `Abdullah said, "I got up and I wanted to say, 'The one who fought you and your father for Islam, but I feared that I would say something which would split up the community and cause bloodshed and it would be understood other than how I meant it, so I remembered what Allah has prepared in the garden.'" Habib said, "You remembered and were protected."

Al-Bukhari related....

357. In 'The Book of Seditions' from the 'Sahih' (book 92, chap. 21, pt. 8, p. 99).

....that when the people of Madina deposed Yazid b. Mu`awiya, Ibn `Umar gathered his servants and his children together. He said, "I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, say, 'A banner will be set up for every traitor on the Day of Raising.' We gave homage to this man according to the homage of Allah and his Messenger.

358. This luminous report which al-Bukhari relates in his 'Sahih' shames those who lied about Wahb b. Jarir in those contradictory reports that Ibn `Umar and others did not offer allegiance to Yazid and that Mu`awiya appointed people to cut off their heads if they refuted him when he lied against them, saying that they had given homage to his son. Now it is clear that he did not lie against them. Ibn `Umar announced in the most critical situation - during the rebellion of the people of Madina against Yazid at the instigation of Ibn az-Zubayr and his agent, Ibn Muti` - that the homage of the Shari`a to their Imam based on the homage to Allah and His Messenger was on his neck as it was on their necks and that it was one of the greatest sort of treachery that the community should give homage to an Imam and then fight him. Ibn `Umar did not limit himself to that in that rebellion against Yazid. Muslim related in 'The Book of the Amirate' of his 'Sahih' (book 33, hadith 58, pt. 6, p. 22) that Ibn `Umar came to Ibn Muti`, the agent of Ibn az-Zubayr and the instigator of this rebellion. Ibn Muti` said, "Give a cushion to Abu `Abdu'r-Rahman." Ibn `Umar said, "I have not come to sit with you. I have come to you to relate a hadith to you which I heard from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, 'Whoever takes a hand back from obedience will meet Allah without any proof on the Day of Rising. Whoever dies and does not have a homage on his neck, has died a death of ignorance.'" Muhammad b. `Ali b. Abi Talib (known as Ibn al-Hanafiyya) had a similar position with the agent of the rebellion, Ibn Muti`, which the reader will see in another place when the life of Yazid is discussed.

I do not know of any greater perfidy than to give homage to a man according to the homage of Allah and His Messenger and then to start fighting him. I do not know of any of you who dismisses him nor gives homage in this matter except that there will be a sharp sword between him and me.

Company of muslims, look at what al-Bukhari related in the Sahih and at what we have already mentioned from him in the variant where `Abdullah b. `Umar did not offer homage and that Mu`awiya lied and said that he had given homage and then told his guards to cut off his head if he refuted him. He said in the version of al-Bukhari's, "We gave homage to him according to the homage of Allah and the Messenger." There is conflict between the two of them, you yourselves can take the most likely statement in pursuing soundness and sincerity between the Companions and the Tabi'un. When you have not seen them - may Allah protect you from their sedition - do not be one of those who jump into their blood with their tongue and lick the rest of the blood on the earth like dogs after the horseman has removed his lance. The dog only gets the remainder of the blood which has fallen on the earth.

A reliable just man related from `Abdu'r-Rahman b. Mahdi from Sufyan from Muhammad al-Munkadir. He said, "Ibn `Umar said when he gave homage to Yazid, 'If he is good, we are pleased. If he is evil, we will be patient.'"

It is confirmed that Hamid b. `Abdu'r-Rahman said, "We came to one of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when Yazid b. Mu`awiya was appointed. He said, "You say that Yazid b. Mu`awiya is not the best of the community of Muhammad nor does he have the most fiqh among them nor is he the greatest of them in honour. I say that. However, by Allah, I prefer that the community of Muhammad be united rather than split. Do you think that a door which the community of Muhammad can enter and which is wide enough for them will be unable to cope with a single man if he enters it?" They said, "No." He said, "Do you think that if the community of Muhammad said that no man among them should shed the blood of his brother, nor take any of his property, would that be enough for them?" They said, "Yes." He said, "That is what I say to you." Then he said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'Only good will come to you from modesty.'"

All of these sound reports show you that Ibn `Umar submitted in the business of Yazid and that he gave homage to him, gave him a pledge, and held to what the people held to. He entered into what the muslims entered. He forbade himself and those connected to him after that from leaving or breaking that contract.

It is clear to you that whoever says that Mu`awiya lied when he said, "Ibn `Umar gave homage" since he did not give homage and that Ibn `Umar and his companions were asked and said, "We did not give homage," has lied. In his riwayat, al-Bukhari supported Mu`awiya's words on the mimbar, "Ibn `Umar gave homage" since Ibn `Umar himself affirmed that....

359. When Madina rebelled against Yazid.

....as well as affirming his submission to him. He kept that position.

Which of the two groups is more likely to be truthful if you know? Is it the group on which al-Bukhari spoke or that on which another spoke?

Take the firmest and soundest for yourself, or be quiet about all of it. Allah will undertake your success and your preservation.

The Companion to whom Hamid b. `Abdu'r-Rahman alluded was Ibn `Umar. Allah knows best. If it was another, then there are two great men who agree on this statement. It supports what we established for you. The rule of the less excellent is valid even if there is someone who is better than him when he assumes power. To remove it or seek the more excellent man is to allow what is not permitted. That splits unity and divides the community.

If it is said that Yazid drank wine, we said, "That is only admissible by two witnesses. Who

then testified to that against him?"

360. Mu`awiya, although he had intense love for Yazid because of his cleverness and perfect gifts, preferred that he grow up far from him in the midst of the natural form of the roughness and gallantry of the desert life, so that he would have the qualities suited to the task which awaited those like him. He sent him to the tents of the desert with his uncles of Quda`a so that he would have the position of his mother, Maysun bint Bajdal when she said:

I prefer a house in which the winds tremble,

to a lofty castle.

Yazid passed his youth and the beginning of his manhood in that environment. It was not long after his father went to the mercy of Allah until he established the centre which Allah desired for him. When the atmosphere was free from Ibn az-Zubayr at the death of Mu`awiya, his agents began to spread lies against Yazid in the Hijaz and they ascribed what they were not allowed to ascribe to him. Ibn Kathir quoted in "The Beginning and the End" (8:233) that `Abdullah b. Muti` (the agent of Ibn az-Zubayr) went with his companions in Madina to Muhammad b. `Ali b. Abi Talib, known as Ibn al-Hanafiyya. They wanted to depose Yazid and he rejected them. Ibn Muti` said, "Yazid drinks wine and does not pray. He has exceeded the judgment of the Book." He told them, "I have not seen him do what you mentioned, and I have been with him and I have stayed with him. I saw him constant in the prayer and desiring good. He asked about fiqh and kept to the sunna." They said, "That was pretence for you on his part." He said, "What could he fear from me or hope so that he should display humility to me? Would he tell you what you said about him drinking wine? If he let you know, then you must be his partners. If he did not tell you, it is not allowed for you to testify to what you do not know." They said, "He is caught in our opinion, even if we did not see him." He told them, "Allah rejects that in the people of testimony. He said, 'except those who have testified to the truth with knowledge.' (43:86). I do not have any of your business." They said, "Perhaps you dislike for anyone besides yourself to assume power. We will entrust our business to you." He said, "Fighting is not permitted in what you want to do, either by a follower or one who is followed." They said, "You fought with your father." He said, "Bring me the like of that for which my father fought and I will fight for the like of what he fought." They said, "Command your sons, Abu'l-Qasim and al-Qasim to fight with us." He said, "If I would command them, I would fight." They said, "Take a position with us in which you encourage people to fight." He said, "Glory be to Allah. Command people to do what I would not do and that with which I am not content? Then I would not be giving good counsel to His slaves for Allah." They said, "Then we will force you." He said, "Then I would command people to have fearful awareness of Allah, the creatures do not like the wrath of the Creator." And he went to Makka.

Rather the just man testified to his integrity. Yahya b. Bukayr related from al-Layth b. Sa`d, "The Amir al-Mu'minin Yazid died on such and such a day." Al-Layth called him the "Amir al-Mu'minin," after their kingdom had departed and their state had ended. If he had not been

an Amir in his opinion, he would only have said, "Yazid died."

If it is said, "And if Yazid had not done anything else except murder al-Husayn b. `Ali," we said, "Alas for afflictions once and alas for the catastrophe of al-Husayn a thousand times. His urine spilled on the breast of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and his blood was shed on the dust and it was not spared."

361. Bawgha': the fine earth.

Oh Allah, Oh Muslims! The best model of what is related about him is that Yazid wrote to al-Walid b. `Uqba to tell him about Mu`awiya's death and he ordered him to take the homage for him from the people of Madina although it had already taken place. He summoned Marwan and told him. He said to him, "Send to al-Husayn b. `Ali and Ibn az-Zubayr. See if they give allegiance. If they do not we will smite their necks." He said, "Glory be to Allah! You will kill al-Husayn b. `Ali and Ibn az-Zubayr?" He said, "What do I tell you?" He sent for them. Ibn az-Zubayr came to him and he told him about Mu`awiya's death and asked him for allegiance. He said, "Someone like me gives homage here? I will mount the mimbar and give allegiance openly with the people." Marwan leapt up and said, "Strike his neck! He is full of sedition and evil!" Ibn az-Zubayr said, "You are there, Ibn az-Zurqa' (son of a blue-black woman)!" They cursed each other. Al-Walid said, "Leave me." He sent to al-Husayn and he did not say a word to him about anything. They left him. Al-Walid laid an ambush for them. When morning was near, they left in haste for Makka and reached it. Ibn az-Zubayr said to him, "What keeps you from your party and the party of your father? By Allah, if I had the like of them I would go to them." This is not sound.

The historians mention that the people of Kufa wrote and answered al-Husayn,

362. The first to write to him from the shaykhs of the party, according to what their historian Lut b. Yahya related, were Salman b. Surad, al-Musayyib b. Najba, Rif'a b. Shaddad and Habib b. Muzahir. They sent their letter with `Abdullah b. Sab' al-Hamdani, and `Abdullah b. Wali. They came to Husayn in Makka on the tenth of Ramadan, 60 A.H. After two days, Qays b. Mushir al-Saydawi, `Abdu'r-Rahman b. `Abdullah b. al-Kadn al-Arhaji and `Umara as-Saluli went to him with fifty-three pages. After another two days, Hani' b. Hani' as-Subay'i and Sa'id b. `Abdullah al-Hanafi hurried to him. (at-Tabari, 6:197 has the texts of some of their letters and the names of some of its people). This continued until they would not meet with their Amir, an-Nu'man b. Bashir on Friday. They called al-Husayn to them. Then when he came, they would expel their Amir and hold him in Syria. They said to one of them, "So the fruits will grow. If you so wish, you will find a large army for you." Al-Husayn sent them his nephew Muslim b. `Uqayl to see if they would be loyal and gather so that he could come to them later. Muslim b. `Uqayl got lost on the way and those with him died of thirst. He wrote to al-Husayn asking him to relieve him of this task. He answered him, "I fear that only cowardice has led you to ask to be excused." Muslim continued until he reached Kufa and twelve thousand of them offered homage to him.

The Amir of Kufa, an-Nu`man b. Bashir, became aware of their movements. He spoke to them and forbade sedition and division. He told them, "I only fight the one who fights me. I will not punish by supposition or suspicion. If you show me your page and you break your pledge of homage, then I will strike you with my sword as long as it is firm in my hand." Yazid knew that an-Nu`man b. Bashir was a forbearing man of piety not suited to opposing a movement like this. He therefore wrote to `Ubaydullah b. Ziyad, his governor over Basra ordering him to take charge of Kufa as well. He commanded him to go to Kufa and to seek out Ibn `Uqayl as the pearl is sought until it is found. Then he should bind him and kill or exile him. `Ubaydullah appointed his brother over Basra and went to Kufa. He met its leaders and took hold of the crisis. It was not long before Muslim b. `Uqayl saw that the opinion of the twelve thousand who had given him allegiance was as thin as air. He found himself alone and cast out. Then he was taken and executed.

Al-Husayn had received the letters of Muslim b. `Uqayl before that, saying that twelve thousand had offered homage to him until death. At the end of the Hajj `Id, he left for Kufa. Ibn az-Zubayr was the only one to encourage him to go out because he knew that the people of the Hijaz would not give him homage as long as al-Husayn was with them. Al-Husayn was the heaviest of people for Ibn az-Zubayr, (At-Tabari, 6:196-197 and look at 6:216-217) and his nephew `Abdullah b. Ja`far b. Abi Talib (2:219). `Abdullah b. Ja`far asked the governor of Yazid over Makka, `Amr b. Sa`id b. al-`As, to write a letter of safe-conduct for al-Husayn to give him hopes of kindness and connection and to ask him to come back. The Governor of Makka granted all that he sought. He told him, "Write whatever you wish and I will seal the letter." He wrote to him and the governor sealed it. He sent it to al-Husayn with his brother Yahya b. Sa`id b. `Isa. `Abdullah b. Ja`far went with Yahya. They tried to dissuade al-Husayn from travelling. He refused. (The Governor's letter is in 'The History' of at-Tabari, 6:219-220). No one was above these counsellors in their intellect, knowledge, position and sincerity. `Abdullah b. Muti`, the agent of Ibn az-Zubayr, was one of his advisers who had intellect and sincerity (at-Tabari, 6:196). `Umar b. `Abdu'r-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hishan al-Makhzumi held this opinion (at-Tabari, 6:125-126), and al-Harith b. Khalid b. al-`As b. Hisham did not neglect to give him counsel (6:216). Even al-Farazdaq the poet told him, "The hearts of the people are with you, but their swords are with the Banu Umayya." (at-Tabari, 6:218). None of this effort turned al-Husayn from this journey which was ill-omened for him, for Islam, and for the Islamic community until this very day and will be until the Last Day. All of this was due to the crime of his party who encouraged him to rashness, delusion and desire for civil strife, division and evil. Then they disappointed him through their cowardice, baseness, treachery and perfidy. Their heirs were not content with what their ancestors did. They devoted themselves to clouding history and changing the truth and to reversing things.

and he sent Muslim b. `Uqayl, his nephew, to them to take allegiance from them and to investigate his followers. Ibn `Abbas forbade him and told him that they had disappointed his father and his brother. Ibn az-Zubayr indicated to him that he should go out, so he went out.

When he reached Kufa, Muslim b. `Uqayl had been slain and all of those who had invited him surrendered him. It is enough for you in this to have the warning of the one who is warned. He persisted and continued out of anger for the deen and to establish the truth. But he, may Allah be pleased with him, did not accept the good advice of the man with the most knowledge among the people of his time. That was Ibn `Abbas. He turned away from the opinion of the shaykh of the Companions, Ibn `Umar.

363. Well-being lay in what he preferred and his encouraging the unity of the muslims and their devotion to the spread of the call and conquest.

He sought the beginning in the end and the straight in the crooked and the greenness of youth in the white hair of old age. His power was not like that nor did he have any helpers who guarded his right or who expended themselves for him. We wanted to purify the earth of the wine of Yazid,

364. By the claim of those who provoked the sedition who testified to something which they did not know.

so we shed the blood of al-Husayn. A calamity came to us which the happiness of time cannot heal.

No one came out to him except by using interpretation. They all fought him with what they had heard from his grandfather, the master of the messengers who mentioned the corruption of the situation and warned about getting involved in seditions. He said a lot about that. They included his words, may Allah bless him and grant him peace,

365. From the hadith of `Arfaja in 'The Book of the Amirate' in the 'Sahih' of Muslim: The chapter of 'The Judgments of the One who Divides the Muslims when they are United' (book 33, hadith 59, pt. 6, p. 22).

"There will be defects and flaws. Whoever wants to divide the business of this community when it is united should be struck with the sword, whoever he is." People only presented this and things like it. Even if their leader and the son of their noble al-Husayn expanded his house, his estate or his camels, and even if people came to him to establish the truth and they included Ibn `Abbas, and Ibn `Umar, one should not turn to them. He should remember what the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, warned about and what he said about his brother.

366. i.e "this son of mine is a master. Perhaps Allah will use him to make peace between two large groups of muslims."

He saw that it had left his brother while the armies of the land and the great men were seeking him out. How then could it return to him by the dregs of Kufa while the great companions forbade him and held aloof from him? I do not think that this is anything other than submission to the decree of Allah and sorrow for the grandson of the Messenger of

Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, for all time. If it had not been for the fact that the shaykhs and notables of the community recognised that it was a matter which Allah had taken away from the people of the House and a state of civil strife which no one should become involved in, they would never have surrendered it.

Ahmad b. Hanbal, in spite of his asceticism and his immense position in the deen and his scrupulousness, still included Yazid b. Mu`awiya in 'The Book of Zuhd' and mentioned what he used to say in his khutba, "When one of you falls ill, is treated and recovers, he should look to the best action he has and cling to it. He should look to the worst thing he has done and leave it." This indicates his immense position with Ibn Hanbal since he included him among the men of Zuhd of the Companions and the Tabi`un whose words were followed and those who are not warned. Indeed, he included him in the group of companions before he proceeded to mention the Tabi`un. Where is this in relation to what the historians say about him and wine and types of corruption? Are they not ashamed? When Allah strips them of virtue and modesty, why do you not desist and hold back when they follow the rabbis and monks rather than the men of excellence of the community? You should reject the heretics and impudent men who are affiliated with the community. "This is a clarification for people and guidance and warning for the fearfully aware." Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds."

Look at Ibn az-Zubayr after that and what he did when homage was given to him in Makka and when he had all of the land there. Look at Ibn `Abbas and his intellect and his concern for himself. Look at Ibn `Umar and his age and surrendering the business to this world and casting it away. If there had been a way to establish that, the one most entitled to that would have been Ibn `Abbas. It is mentioned that the sons of his brother, `Ubaydullah, were slain unjustly.

367. That was in 40 A.H. in the Yemen at the end of the governorship of `Ubaydullah b. `Abbas over Yemen for `Ali, Mu`awiya sent Busr b. Abi Artā' to the Hijaz and the Yemen and he took homage for him from the people of the Hijaz. Then Busr went to the Yemen. When `Ubaydullah learned of his arrival, he fled to Kufa and left his sons in the Yemen. Busr killed both of them according to what is said.

However, by his intellect, he saw that even `Uthman's blood had not been spare, so how could the blood of the sons of `Ubaydullah be saved? The business was confused

368. i.e. its truth is immersed in its false.

and they had left it in order to preserve the unity of the community which is the root, sparing the blood of the muslims and unity amongst them. Refrain from what the cut-off black one commits just as the master of the Shari`a, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, commanded us to refrain.

369. In 'The Book of the Amirate' of the 'Sahih' of Muslim from the hadith of Abu Dharr

(book 33, hadith 36, pt. 6, p. 14).

Each of them had immense worth and strove. Each of them is correct and rewarded. Whatever he did Allah has a judgment about it ,which He will carry out and He has a judgment in the next world which He has already judged and finished with. Measure these matters by their proper measures. See how Ibn `Abbas and Ibn `Umar dealt with them. Then deal with them like that. Do not join the fools who have unleashed their tongues and pens with what has no use for them. No one is independent of Allah nor can anything in this world dispense with Him.

Look at the best Imams and the fuqaha' in the cities. Did they turn to these fables and speak about stupidities like these? They knew that this was ignorant partisanship and futile zeal. All it does is sever the bonds between people, scatter unity and create different sects. What happened, happened. The historians said what they said. One is either silent or follows the people of knowledge. Cast away the follies of the "Historians" and the men of letters. Allah will perfect His blessings on us and you by His mercy.

Note

It is a wonder that people consider the Government of the Umayyads terrible when the first to appoint them to govern was the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. On the Day of the Conquest, he appointed `Attab b. Usayd b. Abi'l-`Is b. Umayya over Makka, may Allah sanctify it and bless its land - while he was a very young man, whether he had grown a beard or not. He made Mu`awiya b. Abi Sufyan a custodian of his revelation. Then Abu Bakr appointed his brother, Yazid b. Abi Sufyan, over Syria. After that, they continued to rise in the path of glory and go up in the levels of might and the positions of honour until their days were finished.

People relate baseless hadith about them. They include the hadith of the dream that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had about the Umayyads leaping on his mimbar like monkeys. It grieved him, so he was given the Night of Power, better than the thousand months in which the Umayyads ruled. If this had been sound, we would not have begun the state when he appointed them nor would he have appointed `Attab over the best area of earth, Makka. This is a root which you must grasp.

If it is said that Mu`awiya began to judge by what was not true in Islam and to decide what is not lawful when he attached Ziyad's paternity, we said, "We made it clear elsewhere that the ascription of Ziyad's paternity was based on sound things and correct action which we will clarify after we have mentioned their claim that he left the straight path. There is no way to arrive at their lie because the patch of the lie is not mended.

They said that Ziyad was ascribed to `Ubayd ath-Thaqafi through Sumayya, the slave-girl of al-Harith b. Kalada.

370. Ibn `Asakir related in the biography of Ziyad from 'The History of Damascus' (5:409)

from `Uwana b. al-Hakam al-Kalbi (the oldest of the shaykhs of al-Mada'ini) that Sumayya, the mother of Ziyad belonged to one of the Persian landowners. He complained of a stomach ache and feared that he was afflicted with dropsy. He summoned al-Harith b. Kalada ath-Thaqafi, the doctor of the Arabs, who used to attend Chosroes. He treated the landowner and cured him, so he gave him Sumayya. She bore him Abu Bakra (his name was Masruh or Nufay'), but he did not acknowledge him. Then she bore Nafi' and he did not acknowledge him. When Abu Bakra went to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, al-Harith b. Kalada said to Nafi', "Your bother Masruh is a slave and you are my son." So he acknowledged him on that day. Al-Harith married her to a slave of his called `Ubayd and she bore Ziyad while she was married to him. Abu Sufyan went to Ta'if and stayed with a man called Abu Maryam as-Saluli. He said, "Abu Maryam brought Sumayya to him and he slept with her and she conceived Ziyad."

Ziyad purchased his father `Ubayd for one thousand dirhams and set him free.

371. In the biography of Ziyad from the history of Ibn `Asakir (5:406-407) there is the report which Zuhra b. Ma'bad b. Muhammad b. `Amr related about Ziyad coming when he was a child to the Amir al-Mu'minin `Umar from Abu Musa al-Ash'ari on the day of Jalala'. They both said, "When `Umar looked at him, he saw that he had a good form and fine white cotton clothes. He said to him, "What is this garment?" He told him that then `Umar said, "What did it cost?" He told him something small and he believed him. He told him, "How large is your gift?" He said, "two thousand." He said, "What did you do with the first gift you were given?" He said, "I purchased my foster father `Ubayd and I set him free." `Umar said, "You have been successful." He asked him about the shares of inheritance, the sunan and the Qur'an, and he found that he had knowledge of the Qur'an and its rules and the shares of inheritance." So he sent him back to Abu Musa and commanded the amirs of Basra to follow his opinion.

Abu `Uthman al-Hadi said, "We envied him." `Umar appointed him over part of the zakat of Basra. It is said that he was a scribe for Abu Musa.

372. Ibn `Asakir quoted from Abu Nu`aym that Ziyad wrote letters to Abu Musa al-Ash'ari and then to `Abdullah b. `Amr b. Kurayz, then to al-Mughira b. Shu`ba, then to `Abdullah b. `Abbas who were all in charge of Basra. The Amir al-Mu'minin `Ali wanted him to take charge of Basra. Ziyad indicated to him that he should appoint `Abdullah b. `Abbas, but he promised to help and advise him.

When he did not give the testimony with the witnesses who testified against al-Mughira, `Umar flogged them and dismissed him. He told him, "I did not dismiss you for any disgrace, but I dislike to impose your excess intelligence on people." They related that `Umar sent him to the Yemen to put the corruption in order and he returned and made a speech whose like has never been heard. `Amr b. al-`As said, "By Allah, if this lad had been a Qurayshi, people would have held to his staff." Abu Sufyan said, "By Allah, I know who placed him in his mother's womb." `Ali said to him, "Who?" He said, "I did." He said, "Easy, Abu Sufyan." Abu

Sufyan recited some verses:

By Allah, if it were not for fear for my person,

373. i.e. `Umar.

`Ali, I should be seen among the enemies,

to show Sakhr b. Harb his business.

The statement is not from Ziyad.

My cheating with Thaqif was long

and I left the fruit of the heart with them.

That is what Mu`awiya applied.

`Ali appointed him over Persia, Hama, Juba, Fatha and Aslah.

Mu`awiya corresponded with him, intending to corrupt him. Ziyad sent his letter to `Ali along with a poem. `Ali wrote to him, "I have appointed you over what I have appointed you. You are worthy of that in my opinion. What you want will only be obtained by patience and certainty in what you have. Abu Sufyan's error was in the time of `Umar. You do not deserve either lineage or inheritance by that. Mu`awiya will come to the believer from in front of him and behind him." When Ziyad read the letter, he said, "Abu Hasan and the Lord of the Ka`ba have testified for me." That was what emboldened Ziyad and Mu`awiya to do what they did. Then Mu`awiya claimed him in 44 A.H. and Mu`awiya married off his daughter to his son, Muhammad. The news reached Abu Bakr, his brother by his mother. He swore that he would never speak to him again. He said, "This man committed adultery with his mother and he disowns his father. By Allah, Sumayya did not see Abu Sufyan at all. And how should he behave with Umm Habiba?"

374. She is the Umm al-Mu'minin Habiba bint Abu Sufyan and the sister of Mu`awiya.

Should he see her and then break the sanctity of the Messenger of Allah? If she is veiled from him, then she would disgrace him." Ziyad said, "May Allah reward Abu Bakra! He did not have good counsel in any situation!" The poets spoke about him. They related that Sa'id b. al-Musayyib said, "The first false decision in Islam was the false connection of Ziyad's paternity.

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, said, "We made this report clear in another place. We spoke on it and it does not need to be repeated. However, what his meant by it must be made clear. We say, "We neither affirm nor deny all we mentioned because it is not used as a proof. That which we know to be true and which we clearly state as knowledge is that Ziyad was one of the companions by birth and sight,

375. Ibn Hajar gives his biography in the Isaba as does Abu `Umar b. `Abdu'l-Barr in the Isti'ab'. He stated that he was born in the year of the Conquest of Makka. It is said that it was the year of the Hijra and it is said that it was the day of Badr. Ibn Hajar said, "Ibn `Asakir stated that he lived in the time of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, but did not see him."

not by fiqh and recognition. As for his father, properly speaking, we do not know that he had a father before the claim of Mu`awiya....

376. It is confirmed that al-Harith b. Kalada admitted to being the father of Nafi`, Ziyad's brother by his mother. Therefore Nafi` was called Nafi` b. al-Harith b. Kalada. History does not say that either `Ubayd ath-Thaqafi or al-Harith b. Kalada acknowledged Ziyad.

....in attributing his paternity to Abu Sufyan. There are jealous statements made by historians. As for his buying his foster father, that was because he had raised him. He was brought up by him when he came to him. He had lineage to him by virtue of this upbringing if that is what the situation was.

As for their words that Abu `Uthman al-Hadi envied him for doing that, that was unlikely in Abu `Uthman's case. There is no virtue in anyone buying his foster father or his father and then setting him free so that Abu `Uthman and his likes should envy him because this is a rank which is obtained by the rich and the poor, the noble and the low. If he were to spend an immense amount of money, that would give notice of his virtue in humbling the great man of great wealth by his connection to a close guardian. They used these stories in order to give him a father and to put him in the position of the one who denies his own father.

As for `Umar appointing him, that is sound. That is enough for you as far as considering him to have integrity, honour and the deen.

As for their statement that `Umar dismissed him because he did not bear false witness, on the contrary it is related that when his three companions testified,

377. The three Companions who testified against al-Mughira were his two brothers by his mother: Nufay' and Nafi`, who is ascribed to al-Harith b. Kalada, and the third is Shibl b. Ma'bad.

`Umar said to al-Mughira, "Your fourth is gone, your half is gone, and three-fourths of your side has gone." When Ziyad came, he said to him, "I see that you have a handsome face and I hope that Allah will not disgrace a man who was one of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, at your hands."

As for his speech which `Amr is said to have admired, he did not have excellent knowledge nor eloquence more than `Amr had, so who was below or above him? The slandering shaykh...

378. Perhaps he meant al-Jahiz. The greatest of his speeches which he quoted is in 'The

Clarification and Making Clear'. That is his speech which is called al-Bakra'. It is in the beginning of part 2.

.....included a speech which was not of this measure.

As for their words that Abu Sufyan acknowledged him and spoke some poetry about him, the one who has studied does not doubt that if Abu Sufyan had acknowledged him during the lifetime of `Umar, he would not have concealed anything because the situation had to be one of two things: Either `Umar thought that he was indeed connected to him,

379. i.e. his connection and attachment.

as others have related from him and that would have been carried out, or he would have rejected that. No punishment is required against Abu Sufyan for what he did in the time of the Jahiliyya. They mentioned this stupid broken and forged story which is outside of the limits of the deen and learning. It is meaningless.

As for `Ali appointing him, that shows his integrity.

As for Mu`awiya sending to him so that he would join him, it is sound in general. As for the details about what Mu`awiya wrote to Ziyad or wrote to `Ali or what `Ali used to reply to Ziyad, this is all fabrication.

As for `Ali's words, "It was an error from Abu Sufyan in the time of `Umar, so you do not deserve lineage by it." If that had been true, that is a testimony as is related from Ziyad. That does not invalidate what Mu`awiya did because it is a question of ijthad between the `ulama'. `Ali had one opinion and Mu`awiya and others had another opinion.

As for the note in the discussion which is the statement about Mu`awiya giving Ziyad's paternity and people blaming him for that, what is he blamed for in it if he did hear it from his father? What fault rests with Abu Sufyan in attaching an illegitimate child when that came from something which happened in the time of the Jahiliyya. It is known that Sumayya did not belong to Abu Sufyan as Zum'a's son did not belong to `Utba. However, `Utba had someone who disputed with him and judgment was accorded to that person. No one disputed Mu`awiya concerning Ziyad.

Oh Allah, here is a point on which the `ulama' disagree. It is that when the brother claims to be connected to a brother saying "He is the son of my father," and no one disputes him and he is alone in that, Malik said, "He inherits and the lineage is not confirmed." Ash-Shafi'i used as a proof the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "He is yours, `Abd. b. Zam'a. The child belongs to the household (where he was born) and the adulterer has stones." He decided that belonged to the household and that the lineage is given. We said that this is great ignorance. That is because his words that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, decided that he belongs to the household is true. As for his statement that the lineage is confirmed, that is false because `Abd claimed him by two

reasons. One of them was by virtue of his being born in his household, and the second was by being his brother. If the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, had said, "He is your brother and the child belongs to the household", that would have confirmed the principle and mentioned the cause. However, the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not mention brotherhood nor go into it. He did not mention lineage nor make an explicit statement about it. In the Sahih it says, "He is your brother" and another version has, "He is yours," meaning you know him best. We made that clear in the questions of dispute.

Al-Harith b. Kalada did not claim Ziyad nor did he have any lineage with him. The son of his slavegirl was the child in his household. He belongs to whoever claims him, unless he is opposed by someone who is more entitled to him. There was no fault in Mu`awiya when he did that. He acted correctly in it according to the school of Malik.

If it is said, "Why did the Companions reject it?"

We said, "Because it is a question of ijtiḥad. Whoever thinks that lineage is not connected by the single heir, rejects it and thinks it terrible."

If it is said, "Why did they curse him and use as a proof the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "Cursed be the one who is ascribed to other than his father or ascribed to other than his ex-masters."

We said: The one who cursed him cursed him for two reasons. One is because he stated that his lineage was by this path. Whoever does not think that he is cursed for this, cursed him for another reason. In their opinion, Ziyad deserved to be cursed when he innovated after Mu`awiya proclaimed his paternity.

380. The most important reason for that in their opinion lies in the execution of Hujr b. `Adi. That was already discussed.

If it is said that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, held that fornication creates taboos of kinship, he established that principle when he said, "Veil yourself from him, Sawda."

381. In 'The Book of the Judgments' from the 'Muwatta' of Imam Malik (chap. 21, p.740) from Ibn Shihab from `Urwas b. az-Zubayr from `A'isha. She said, "'Utba b. Abi Waqqas disclosed to his brother, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, that he was the father of the son of Zam'a's slave-girl. He made him promise to look after him (after his death)." She said, "In the year of the Conquest of Makka, Sa'd took him and said, 'He is my nephew. My brother made a covenant with me about him.' `Abd b. Zam'a stood up and said, 'He is my brother and the son of my father's slave-girl. He was born on his bed.' The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'He is yours, `Abd. Zam'a'. Then he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, 'The child belongs to the household and the adulterer has stones.' Then he said to Sawda bint Zam'a, 'Veil yourself from him.' since he saw that he resembled `Utba b. Abi Waqqas. She said, 'He did not see her until he met Allah, the Mighty,

the Exalted.'" Al-Bukhari related it (book 34, chap. 3) and Muslim (book 17, chap. 10, hadith 36).

This indicates that adultery creates the same taboo-relationships as are created by intercourse in a valid marriage. That is similar to what the Kufans said. In the version of Ibn al-Qasim, Malik aided them in the question, but did not help them in the proof in this way. We made it clear in The Book of Marriage. Ash-Shafi'i said, "The reason that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, told Sawda to veil herself in spite of the confirmation of Zum'a's lineage and the validity of him being her brother by the claim of `Abd, was in order to exalt the respect for the wives of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, because they are not like any other women in their honour and excellence.

We said, "If he had been her brother by a firm lineage as you say and the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "The child belongs to the household" confirms the lineage, then why did the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, forbid Sawda to be unveiled before him when `A'isha was not kept from the man about whom she said, "This is my brother by suckling." He said, "You can be seen by your brothers."

As for what is related from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib, it is reported about his madhab that his claim to paternity is not sound. That is what some other Companions and Tabi'un thought. The question led to dispute in the community and the fuqaha' of the cities. It went beyond criticism to the level of a belief. Malik clearly stated his lineage in 'The Book of Islam' in the Muwatta' referring to him. He stated during the `Abbasid state, "Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan." He did not state as the misguided person said, "Ziyad the son of his father." This is based on what he thought about the lineage being confirmed by a single statement. However, there is great fiqh in that, which no one realises. It is that since it is a disputed question and judgment is possible by either aspect, it is not retracted. The Qadi judged the disputed question by one of two statements which was implemented and there was no dispute about it. Allah knows best.

As for this variant where `Umar said, "I dislike to enforce your superior intellect on people," this is an addition which is without any foundation made by one with a defective intellect. What intellect did Ziyad have more than people had in the days of `Umar?

382. Because when he came to `Umar, he was seventeen, according to what al-Bukhari transmitted in his 'Middle History' from Yunus b. Habib from the family of Ziyad.

Every one of the Companions had more understanding and knowledge than Ziyad had. This is why everyone who has a fuller intellect more than someone else is more suited to mix with people. They said, "He was an old fox." That is a weak statement. Cunning and shrewdness is knowledge of the meanings and judging ends by the beginnings. Every single Companion and Tabi' was above Ziyad (in this). Those versions which the historians related in their lies are from the tricks of war and assaulting people. Anyone today can do the like or more than them. The stratagem is amazing, mentioned and related when it is in harmony with the deen.

As for every story which is in opposition to the deen, there is neither good nor intellect in transmitting it. All people, the rulers of the Umayyads in particular, as we already mentioned, had more intellect and more eloquence than Ziyad. Do not look at falsehoods which are quoted.

Note

Appointments and dismissals have meanings and realities which most people do not know. You know that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, died among twelve thousand companions who are known. They included about two thousand men famous for majesty. From among them, Abu Bakr appointed Sa`d, Abu `Ubayda, Yazid, Khalid b. al-Walid, `Ikrima b. Abi Jahl and another group higher than him. He appointed Anas b. Malik over Bahrayn when he was twenty years old, imitating the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and what he did with `Attab.

383. `Attab b. Usayd b. Abi'l-'Is b. Umayya.

When were the shaykhs all used up, so that he had to take the young men? `Umar also made appointments like that. He was quick to dismiss Khalid. All of that was due to great fiqh and wonderful recognition which is made clear in its place in 'The Book of the Imamate' and politics from the roots. Study other things. This topic is not part of something which the people of literature discuss.

As for what is related from Mu`awiya that he summoned witnesses, As-Saluli and others testified.

384. As-Saluli is Malik b. Rabi`a b. Maryam. That was in 44 A.H. Those who testified with him were Ziyad b. Asma' al-Hirmazi, al-Mundhir b. az-Zubayr (according to what al-Mada'ini mentioned with his isnads), Jawayriyya bint Abi Sufyan, al-Miswar b. Quddama al-Bahili, Ibn Abi Nasr ath-Thaqafi, Zayd b. Nufayl al-Azdi, Shu`ba b. al-`Alqam al-Mazini, a man from the Banu `Amr b. Shayban and a man from the Banu'l-Mustaliq. They have testified for Abu Sufyan that Ziyad was his son, except for al-Mundhir. He testified that he had heard `Ali say, "I testify that Abu Sufyan said that." Mu`awiya gave a speech and attacked Ziyad. Ziyad spoke and said, "If what the witnesses have stated is true, then praise be to Allah. If it is false, I put them between me and Allah."

Forget the one who admitted what was related from as-Saluli. It was not that at all. Be fortunate by dropping what Sa`d or Sa'id related in the story. As for the words of Abu Bakra, his brother by his mother, about him, that does not injure him because that was the opinion of Abu Bakra and his ijihad. As for their words in what Abu Bakra said, namely that he committed adultery with his mother, if that is true, what happened in the Jahiliyya does not harm her in the deen. Allah pardoned all the people of the Jahiliyya by Islam. He dropped wrong actions and shame from them. Only those who are ignorant of that mentioned this.

Qadi Abu Bakr, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said: The people did not find any

fault in anyone. Envy of him and their enmity of him overcame them, so they created faults for him. Accept the advice and only look at what is sound in reports. As I already told you, avoid the people with histories. They mentioned sound simple reports from the salaf in order to use that as a means to quote lies. As we already stated, they threw something which is displeasing to Allah into their hearts. That was in order to demean the salaf and to weaken the deen. The deen is too mighty for that and the salaf are too noble for that. Allah is pleased with all of them.

Whoever looks at the actions of the Companions will clearly see the falseness of these disclosures on which the historians disagree and which they slipped into the hearts of the weak. This Ziyad had the good fortune to appoint Samura b. Jundub, one of the great Companions. He accepted his appointment with his position. How could he think that he would accept the appointment by an unjust man who lacked right guidance? He had what the Companions had. That was without any compulsion or dissimulation. This is the clear proof. With whom would you like to be: with Samura b. Jundub or with al-Mas`udi, al-Mubarrad, Ibn Qutayba and their likes?

385. Qadi Abu Bakr gave this harsh judgment about Ibn Qutayba. He thought that ‘The Book of the Imamate and Politics’ was one of his books as will come. ‘The Book of the Imamate and Politics’ has some things in it which took place after the death of Ibn Qutayba. That indicated that it was foisted off on him by some foul person belonging to a sect. If the author had known the truth, he would have put al-Jahiz in the same place as Ibn Qutayba.

This is the end of the clarification.

Disaster

The Jahiliyya was based on partisanship and people acted with fervour in it. When Islam brought the truth and Allah showed His blessings to creation, He, glory be to Him! said, "Remember the blessings of Allah to you when you were enemies and He joined your hearts together so by the blessing of Allah you became brothers" (3:103). He said to His Prophet, "If you had gathered all that is in the earth you would not have joined their hearts together, but Allah has joined their hearts together" (Anfal:63). The blessing of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, joined them together and united them and made their hearts sound and wiped out their malice.

Allah took His Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, to Himself. Then selves became averse, but the outward form continued as long as the balance remained. When the balance was removed, as was already mentioned.

386. That is, the Fitnat al-Kubra.

In the story, Allah took the hearts away from harmony and spread a wing of separation until the two wings were level at the murder of `Uthman. It flew into the distance and the bloodshed will continue until the Last Day. People became gangs,

387. The plural of `iza, a party of people.

wandering in every valley full of bigotry. Some of them were for Abu Bakr, some for `Umar, some for `Uthman, and for `Ali and for `Abbas. Each claimed that they were right and the one whom they supported was right and that the rest were unjust, miserly tyrants who lacked any good. That is not a madhab nor is there any statement for it. Those are stupidities and ignorance, or intrigues designed to lead people into misguidance so that the Shari`a will disappear and the heretics will be able to make fun of the religion while Shaytan plays and jokes with them. He takes them outside of any path or madhab.

The Bakris said: "Abu Bakr has a clear text from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, in the prayer, and the community was pleased with him for this world. He had the highest virtue and sincere love with the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He was appointed and was just. He chose and did well. However, he erred about `Umar, and his command was a mistake. `Umar's boorishness dominated, and they mention faults (in `Umar). As for `Uthman, what he did is not hidden. It is the same with `Ali. Al-`Abbas is not mentioned."

The `Umaris said, "As for Abu Bakr, he was an excellent weak man, while `Umar was a strong just Imam, praised by the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, in the hadith of the vision, the bucket, and the ingenious person as was already stated.

388. The author is emphasising the folly of partisanship, viewpoints removed from right-action.

As for `Uthman, he left the path. He did not choose a ruler nor did he give anyone his due, nor restrain his relatives. He did not follow the sunan of those before him. As for `Ali, he dared to take blood." I heard in certain assemblies that Ibn Jurayh

389. `Abdu'l-Malik b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz al-Makki, one of the notable men, died in 150 A.H.

used to put `Umar ahead of Abu Bakr. I heard at-Tartushi

390. One of the author's shaykhs.

say, "If anyone says that `Umar, is put ahead, I will follow him."

The `Uthmanis said, "'Uthman had previous antecedents, virtues and superfluity in himself and in his property. He was killed unjustly."

The `Alids said, "'Ali was the son of his uncle and his in-law and the father of the grandson of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and the foster son of the Prophet."

The `Abbasids said, "Abbas was the father of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and the one who most deserved to be put ahead after him." They spoke at length about that with things so vile it is not necessary to mention them.

391. Most of that was in the time of their dynasty.

They related hadith which it is not lawful for us to mention because of the terrible forgery in them and the baseness of their transmitters.

Many heretics connected themselves to the people of the house,

392. They used them as a means and attacked many of their best men. They alluded to men like Imam Zayd. Then they opposed the clear Shari`a of the ancestor of the people of the House with the claim of infallibility and actual deification which certain individuals among them articulated.

and put `Ali above all people. The Rafidites were divided into twenty groups. The most harmful of them were those who said that `Ali was Allah. The Ghurabiyya said that he was the messenger of Allah, but that Jibril turned away from him with the message and went to Muhammad due to his enthusiasm for him. You only heat cold kufr by the heat of the sword. As far as the warmth of debate is concerned, it has no effect on it.

Protection

I have told you this so that you will be careful about people, especially the commentators, the historians and the people of literature. They are the people who are ignorant of the sacred things of the deen or who persist in their innovations. Do not pay any attention to what they related, nor accept any riwaya unless it comes from the Imams of the hadith. Do not listen to the words of any historian except at-Tabari.

393. In addition to that, at-Tabari mentioned the sources of his reports and named their transmitters so that there would be a clear proof in the business. He said at the end of the preface of his book, "Whatever reports my book has which the reader does not like because he is unsure of its soundness should know that that has not come from me. It came from some of those who transmitted to me."

Anyone else is the red death and the great disease. They create hadith in order to diminish the Companions and the Salaf and to make light of them. They invested lengthy forgeries in the words and actions which they ascribed to them. Their goals lead out of the deen to this world and from the truth to sects. If you cut off the people of lies and content yourself with the transmissions of just men, you will be safe from these snares and will keep away from these spectres. One of the most terrible things for people is an ignorant man of intelligence or a cunning innovator. As for the ignorant man, he was Ibn Qutayba. He did not leave any trace of the Companions in 'The Book of the Imamate and the Politics' if all that is in it is

truly from him.

394. Nothing in it is from him. If the ascription of this book had been truly from the firm Imam, Abu Muhammad `Abdullah b. Muslim b. Qutayba, he would have been as Ibn al-`Arabi stated because 'The Book of the Imamate and Politics' is full of ignorance, stupidity, foolishness, lies and falsities. When I published the book of "Gambling and Divining Arrows" by Ibn Qutayba more than twenty-five years ago and prefaced it with his full biography and enumerated his works, I mentioned (pp. 26-37) the source of the `ulama' for 'The Book of the Imamate and Politics', and their proofs that it was not by Ibn Qutayba. I now will add to what I mentioned in "Gambling and Divining Arrows" that the author of 'The Imamate and Politics' related a lot from two of the great `ulama' of Egypt. Ibn Qutayba did not go to Egypt and he did not take anything from these two `ulama'. All of that indicates that the book was foisted off on him.

There was also al-Mubarrad in his literary book.

395. Al-Mubarrad adopted some of the opinion of the Kharijites and he inclined to them. His being an Imam in language and literature does not obscure his weakness in the science of riwaya and isnad. In spite of his majesty in the sciences of the Shari`a and his intellect, the `ulama' did not overlook the weakness of Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali in the sciences of isnad. Moreover, you should be careful not to overlook the like of that in al-Mubarrad. In any case, every report about the past or the future, in our community or in any other community can be thought of as being either true or false until the truthfulness or falsity is established by the touchstone of experience and by scientific investigation.

Where is his intellect in respect to the intellect of Tha'lab, the Imam who preceded him in his dictations. He wrote it in a literary manner, free of attack on the men of virtue in the community. As for the cunning innovator, that was al-Mas`udi. He brought something close to atheism in what he related. As for his innovation, there is no doubt about it.

396. `Ali b. al-Husayn al-Mas`udi. The Shi`a consider him to be one of their shaykhs and great men. In the Tanqih al-Maqal (2:272-273), al-Mamqani mentioned the books about guardianship and the infallibility of the Imam and other things which show his bias and his keeping to a path which is not that of the people of the Muhammadan Sunna. Part of the nature of the Shi`a partisanship and fanaticism is that it takes a person far from equity and justice.

If you close your ears and eyes so that they do not read or listen to lies, and do not listen to anything about a khalif from anyone who ascribes something unfitting to him, and who mentions what it is impossible to quote, then you will travel on the path of the salaf and turn away from the path of the false.

Malik, may Allah have mercy on him, used the judgment of `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan as a proof in his Muwatta' and put it among the rules of the Shari`a.

397. Part of that is what came in 'The Chapter of Raped Women' in 'The Book of Judgments' in 'The Muwatta'' (p.734), "Malik related to me from Ibn Shihab that `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan gave a judgment that the rapist had to pay the raped woman her bride-price." In 'The Book of the Mukatab' in 'The Muwatta'' (p. 788), there is another judgment by `Abdu'l-Malik. 'The Book of Bloodwits' in 'The Muwatta'' (p. 872) has another judgment by him. As for his father, Marwan b. al-Hakam, there are many of his judgments and fatwas in 'The Muwatta'' and other books of the Sunna which are in use by the Imams of the Muslims who act by them. Look at the scrupulousness of Marwan and his son `Abdu'l-Malik in the hadith of Malik from Ibn Abi `Abla in 'The Book of Marriage' of 'The Muwatta'' (p. 540).

He said in his riwaya, "From Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan." He gave him that lineage and he knew his story. If he had considered what the common people believe to be the truth, he would not have been content to give him that lineage or to mention him in his book which he made a foundation for Islam.

398. `Amir b. Shurahil ash-Sha`bi was one of the Imams of the Muslims as well. Malik thought of him as one of his Imams. Ibn `Asakir related in the biography of Ziyad from 'The History of Damascus' (5:406) that ash-Sha`bi said, "A case came to Ziyad regarding a man who died and left a maternal aunt and a paternal aunt. He said, 'I will decide between you by a decision which I heard from `Umar b. al-Khattab. That was to put the paternal aunt in the position of the brother, and the maternal aunt in the position of the sister.

All of that was compiled in the days of the `Abbasids and their government when they were in power. They did not make him change it nor dislike that because of the excellence of their sciences and their recognition that the question of Ziyad was a question in which people disagreed. Some of them allow it and some forbid it. There is no way for them to object to it.

Similarly they were amazed to find that when the Khalif read 'The Muwatta'' to Malik, he mentioned `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan in it and he mentioned his judgment because when the `ulama' use someone's judgment as a proof, he will also use his judgment as proof in a similar case. When he attacks it, he will attack it in a similar way.

399. Some of those who related from `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan included al-Bukhari in his book, 'The Unique Adab', Imam az-Zuhri, `Urwa b. az-Zubayr and Khalid b. Ma'dan from the fuqaha' and the worshippers of the Tabi'un, and Raja' b. Hawya, one of the notable men. Nafi', the client of Ibn `Umar said, "I saw Madina, and there was no youth in it who worked harder nor with more fiqh nor who read the Book of Allah more than Sa'id b. al-Musayyib, `Urwa b. az-Zubayr, Qabisa b. Dhu'ayb and `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan before he became the Amir. Ash-Sha`bi said, "I did not sit with anyone but that I found that I was better than him except for `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan. I did not mention any hadith to him, but that he gave me more of it, nor any poem but that he gave me more of it." (The Beginning and the End, 9:62-63).

Al-Bukhari quoted

400. In 'The Book of the Judgments' of his 'Sahih (book 93, chap. 43, pt. 8, p. 122). Look at the Greater Sunan by al-Bayhaqi (8:147).

that `Abdullah b. Dinar said, "I saw Ibn `Umar when the people gathered to `Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan." He wrote, "I confirm obedience to `Abdu'l-Malik, the Amir al-Mu'minin, in the sunna of Allah and the sunna of His Messenger as much as I can. My sons confirm the like of that."

Al-Ma'mun used to say that the Qur'an was created as did al-Wathiq. They proclaimed their innovation and the question became known, i.e. that when the Qadi or Imam innovates, is his Government sound and are his judgments carried out or are they rejected. That is a well known question. This is much worse than the indifference of the historians when they say that so-an-so the khalif drank wine or sang or was corrupt or committed adultery. This statement about the Qur'an is either innovation or disbelief (kufr) - according to the disagreement of the `ulama' regarding it. However, these men were known for that. They did not feign acts of rebellion when they did them, so how can one confirm the words of the singers and indifferent historians regarding them when they used that in order to make acts of rebellion easy for people. That was to make people say, "If our khalifs do this, it is not difficult for us to do it." The leaders helped them to spread these books and read them because they wanted to act in this way, so that the correct would be considered disliked, and the disliked considered correct. They even allowed al-Jahiz to read his books in the mosques although they contain lies, falsehoods, and disliked things. In respect of the Prophets, they produced things without right guidance, as was said about Ishaq, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, in the 'Kitab ad-Dalal wa't-Tadlal.' Reading the books of philosophy enable people to deny the doer and invalidate the Shari'a due to the corrupt desires and false goals which their ministers and elite had. If a faqih errs or an `alim speaks badly:

What is bad to the fire is at the top of Kabkab.

401. Kabkab: A mountain behind `Arafat which overlooks it. The poem is by al-A`mash. It ends,

Whoever is in exile from his people continues to see

the battlegrounds of the wronged in course and flow.

Good actions are buried in it. If he is bad,

what is bad to the fire is at the top of Kabkab.

If you understand these matters, your intentions will be excellent and your hearts will be free of alteration toward the earlier men.

I have made it clear to you that you should not devote yourselves to a dinar or even a dirham

unless it is just and free of suspicion and free from appetite. How can you accept anything, about the states of the salaf and what happened before among the first ones, from those who have no rank in the deen? How can you accept what they say about integrity?

May Allah show mercy to `Umar b. `Abdu'l-`Aziz! When they were speaking about what had happened between the Companions, he said, "That is a community which has passed. They have what they earned and you have what you earned. You will not be questioned about what they did." (2:134).

Praise be to Allah, by whose favour right actions are perfected

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